Hiſtorical and *Critical*

REMARKS

ON

Biſhop Burnet's HISTORY

OF

His own Time.

By *B. HIGGONS*, Gent.

—*Hunc Tu, Romane, caveto.* HOR.

The SECOND EDITION, with Additional REMARKS.

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THE PREFACE.

WHEN we undertook these Remarks, we design'd that the Work should have been much more concise. But as the Plenty of Matter render'd it difficult to contract the Volume, so it gave a little Mortification to leave so much untouch'd behind.

THE Author has sown his Untruths throughout the Book with the Fate of the Dragon's Teeth; the Falsehoods of one Page are no sooner

vanquiſh'd, but in the next a new Harveſt of Combatants ariſes for freſh Encounter. Notwithſtanding all we have ſaid on this Occaſion, there will a plentiful Crop remain to whoever will take the Pains to glean after us.

WE have endeavour'd, as much as poſſible, to avoid making our Remarks on the ſame Places, where others have touch'd, who have gone before us; but where the Thing was ſo flagrantly ſcandalous, as not to be paſt over, we thought fit by a new Attack to finiſh the Defeat.

IN Regard to the Affairs of Scotland, *in which his falſe Aſſertions are luxuriouſly abundant; we have dwelt leſs than we firſt deſign'd, on that Part of this Hiſtory, upon Information that ſome Gentlemen of that Country had undertaken this peculiar Pro-*

Province, for which they are better qualify'd, by being Natives, upon the Spot, and having Acceſs to Records and Regiſters; but as yet they have not appear'd; if they ſhould not think fit to oblige the World, we have ſaid enough to diſabuſe that Nation.

IT is very evident that Revenge has abſolutely guided him thro' this Hiſtory, that Paſſion more predominant than the reſt ſeems to have animated the whole Deſign, and has ſo wrench'd his Reaſon, and darkened his Underſtanding, as to make him ſometimes fall into the groſſeſt Abſurdities, and muſt convince his Reader, that he was a much weaker Man, than the World believ'd him. A want of Judgment, as it may be ſome Kind of Excuſe, tho' a very bad one, for Errors and Writing ill, ſo it is an Aggravation of the Fault in Writing

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at all, when ſo unqualify'd by Nature thro' want of common Temper.

HIS Malice to the four laſt Princes, of a Race, who, if we may believe the Scotch *Hiſtorians, have govern'd him and his Anceſtors two thouſand Years, is very unaccountable: This Paſſion ſeems to be ſo very unſatiable, as not to be the natural Growth of a Northern Climate, but to have been brought with him from the other Side of the* Alps. *It is Pity that he took ſo long a Journey only to* Italianize *a* Scotch *Man, and make no better Improvement.*

NOT content with the Miſchiefs that he had done in his Life, he ſeems reſolv'd to carry his Reſentment beyond the Grave, with a Deſign to make War in the other World on Virtue and Goodneſs. If the Engliſh *Tongue ſhould laſt a thouſand Years,*

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he is responsible for every Reader whom he deceives, debauches, and poisons; their Crimes influenc'd by him will be charg'd on his Account; that such an Imposition on Posterity was in his View, seems too plain, by his ordering this Posthumous Work to be publish'd so many Years after his Death, when he believ'd that probably most would be out of the Way, who could personally contradict him. This surprizing Conduct seems to support his Friends of one Persuasion in their Doctrines of Predestination, and looks as if this unhappy Man had been ordain'd to commit those Crimes of which it was impossible to repent.

WE shall detain the Reader no longer in this Preface, but only to let him know, that the principal Motive to this Undertaking was the Love of Truth; to make any other Appeals

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in Regard to the Sincerity of our Intentions, after the terrible Example in the Preface of his Book, would be now both ridiculous and ſhocking to the Reader. No one can imagine that any perſonal Pique engag'd us to encounter this Author, whom we never had the Honour to ſee but once, and that was in the Pulpit, perhaps to his Diſadvantage; however, we muſt own that it has ſo far gratify'd our Curioſity, that if we ſhould live to grow very old, we may be able to tell Poſterity, that theſe Eyes have beheld ſo prodigious a Man.

REMARKS

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Hiſtorical and *Critical.*

TRUTH, the ſtrongeſt Link of human Society, is not more neceſſary in the univerſal Commerce of Life, than amiable in itſelf. The ſublimeſt Idea we can have of the ſupreme Being, is to call him the God of Truth; and the Imperfection of human Nature can never ſo near approach the Divinity, as when we endeavour to imitate this his greateſt and moſt noble Attribute: It is this which diſtinguiſhes Hiſtory from Romance, and is ſo abſolutely eſſential in a Writer, who is to tranſmit the Tranſactions of paſt Ages to Poſterity, that the reverend Author of the Book before us owns it himſelf in theſe

Words: *Pref. p.* 3. *For I reckon a Lie in Hiſtory to be as much a greater Sin than a Lie in common Diſcourſe, as the one is like to be more laſting and generally known than the other.* How well he has made good this Declaration the following Remarks will convince the World, by ſhewing the Reader ſuch an uninterrupted Series of Untruths as will aſtoniſh; not Miſtakes proceeding from Negligence or human Infirmity, but from a corrupt Deſign to impoſe on Poſterity; not from Miſinformation or Error of Judgment, but from a deliberate Act of the Will, what the Logicians call a Volition to do Miſchief, by not only miſrepreſenting Matters of Fact, and ſetting them in a falſe Light, but poſitive Aſſertions of ſeveral things which he muſt have known in his Conſcience to be abſolutely contrary to Truth; ſo that if we may judge by the whole Tenor of the Book, we may venture to affirm, that nothing can equal his Inſincerity, but his Malice; and, if poſſible, exceed both, but his Vanity.

It is to be lamented, that this unhappy Author ſhould in ſome Places ſo exceed all Bounds of Decency, and ſo atrociouſly outrage Virtue and Innocence, as to forfeit that Reſpect which is due to his Character, and even extinguiſh that Tenderneſs, which in good Nature and Charity we owe to the Infirmities of other Men. Such

SUCH is the Man, who, to the eternal Diſhonour of his Country, has added another *Buchanan* to the *Scotiſh* Writers, not in Quality of an Hiſtorian, but Incendiary; being as much below that wicked great Man in Erudition, Genius, and Capacity, as he ſeems to tranſcend him in Diſingenuity, Fury, and Reſentment.

BEFORE we enter into the Matter of the Book, it will be neceſſary to make ſome Remarks on his Manner of Writing, eſpecially his Hearſay Evidence, which never was, nor never muſt be allow'd in Hiſtory by the common Conſent of Mankind. If ſuch a Liberty were permitted, we could make an Anecdote of this Author's Life, with the Stories which daily Converſation furniſhes, that in Bulk would make a Volume equal to his own; and if it were not too mean to imitate his Example, and expoſe the Conduct of private Life, we could be very merry on this Subject, and entertain the Reader with ſome Paſſages ſo agreeable, as would convince him of his Vigour and Manhood, as well as Gallantry.

As to his Language, and the Turn of his Periods, they are in ſome Places ſurprizingly mean and vulgar; but there is one Expreſſion in his Preface, which muſt not paſs without a Remark, that is, *Thou God of*

of my Life and all my Mercies! This I am ſure is not *Engliſh*, and, as I have been well inform'd, is no *Scotticiſm*; ſo that as theſe Words convey no diſtinct Idea, they are unintelligible, which in plain *Engliſh* is call'd Non-ſenſe. It is certain there is a Beauty in that Simplicity of Style which he pretends to affect, but could never reach, as well as in the Dreſs and Habits of Men; but there is a Difference between Embroidery and Rags, and a certain Mean between a Fop and a downright Sloven; but he deſcends ſometimes ſo very low in his Narration, that I have heard a Story told with a better Grace, and more extemporary Eloquence in a Chimney-Corner. His affected Repetition of ſome favourite Adverbs, tho' they ſignify nothing to the Senſe, five or ſix times in the ſame Paragraph, is as ſhocking in writing, as humming and hawing are in ſpeaking: Beſides, his conſtant Uſe of ungraceful Expletives ſhews how little he underſtood the Beauties of the *Engliſh* Tongue, which perhaps is too redundant in Particles; but theſe, when not abſolutely neceſſary, are eaſily avoided by every judicious and polite Author, who always writes the more correct the better he is bred; of which laſt Qualification the good Biſhop has given us but very few Inſtances in this his Poſthumous Performance.

ONE might have thought that Fury and Revenge, which ſeem the darling Paſſions of his Soul, ſhould have animated his Genius, and fir'd his Imagination.

Archilochum proprio rabies armavit Iambo.

But he has the Misfortune to be always moſt dull when moſt angry, by which he ſeems to loſe a great deal of his Aim and Deſign, which is to make the Reader enter into his Sentiments, by enflaming as well as deceiving him. In this he would have ſucceeded better if he had wrap'd his Poiſon in a more palatable Vehicle, to have made it gone down the glibber; but his Malice is ſo very pointleſs, impotent and blunt, as to carry no Edge, and only tear and haggle the Throat which he would cut.

THE firſt Remark, we ſhall make, is the ill Blood which he carries thro' the whole Book againſt the Royal Family and the Epiſcopal Church in *Scotland*. The very firſt time that he mentions the King and Biſhops, even in his Preface, is to let the World know that they were guilty of very great Errors. This he pretends to have had from his Father, who, he ſays himſelf, was a very great Royaliſt. The Confirmation of this we have from a Perſon of

much better Credit, who, ſince the Publication of this Book, has oblig'd the World with a ſmall Sketch of the Author's Life; in which he ſays, The Father of the Biſhop was a Perſon of inviolable Affection to the King; and that if he had liv'd longer, he would have very much lamented to have ſeen the ill Conduct, and worſe Principles, of his Son; ſo that it is highly improbable that ſo virtuous a Man ſhould have given him ſuch wrong and unjuſt Impreſſions of any Body, eſpecially his Prince, to whoſe Cauſe he was ſo zealouſly attach'd, and to whom he ow'd a Juſtice as well as Duty. The next thing worthy Obſervation, is the terrible Character which he gives of his own Country and Religion: For, *p.* 6. he tells us, *The Reformation of* Scotland *was Popular and Parliamentary; the Crown was, during this Time, either on the Head of a Que n who was abſent, or of a King that was an Infant. During his Minority, Matters were carcried on by the ſeveral Regents, ſo as was moſt agreeable to the prevailing Humour of the Nation: But when King* James *came to be of Age, he found two Parties in the Kingdom; the one was of thoſe who wiſh'd well to the Intereſt of the Queen his Mother, then a Priſoner in* England; *theſe were either profeſs'd Papiſts, or Men believ'd indifferent to all Religion; the reſt were her inveterate Enemies, zealous for a Reformation, and fixt in a* Depend-

Dependance on the Crown of England, &c. This Dependance on the Crown of *England* was certainly, at this Juncture, as treaſonably criminal in *Scotland*, as in any other Monarchy or Government in the World; for *England* was, at this time, as much a foreign Country, in regard to *Scotland*, as *China*; and every Correſpondence with that Crown was actual Treaſon without the Privity and Conſent of the Prince then reigning. But ſuppoſing a Poſſibility of this univerſal Defection, as to Loyalty, is it conceivable that the Preaching of ſome turbulent and ſeditious Enthuſiaſts, in ſo ſhort a time, ſhould ſo totally extingiſh all Senſe of Honour and Virtue, nay, common Humanity, in ſo gallant a People as the *Scotch* Nation had been for ſo many Ages before? Shall it be ſaid that none but Papiſts and Atheiſts acted like Chriſtians, or at leaſt were ſuſceptible of noble and generous Paſſions, ſo far as to commiſerate Beauty and Majeſty in Diſtreſs, and to have ſome Bowels for that perſecuted Innocence, whoſe Story fill'd all the unprejudic'd Part of Mankind with as much Indignation as Pity?

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Let the Reverend Author ſay what he pleaſes, I can never believe the *Scotch* Nation ſo totally abandon'd, but that there were great Numbers of good Proteſtants, who, in Obedience to the Precepts of their holy

holy Religion, condemn'd the Madneſs and Impiety of thoſe Times, and ſtill retain'd a Senſe of their Duty and Allegiance to their Prince, with an hearty Abhorrence of that unnatural Rebellion, ſo contrary to the poſitive Commands of God Almighty deliver'd in the holy Scriptures.

THE next Injuſtice is a poſitive Aſſertion, contrary to all moral Certitude, in which there is as much want of Charity as Aſſurance. This is a ſcandalous Character of the Duke of *Lenox*; of whom he ſays, *p.* 6 and 7. *They alſo ſent a graceful young Man, who, as he was the King's neareſt Kinſman by his Father, was of ſo agreeable a Temper that he became his Favourite, and was by him made Duke of* Lenox. *He was known to be a Papiſt, tho' he pretended he chang'd his Religion, and became in Profeſſion a Proteſtant.* Thus the Biſhop of *Salisbury*: We will now ſee what Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*, a Writer of much more undiſputed Probity, ſays of this Matter. *Spotſw. p.* 324. "Much perplex'd "he was (*i. e.* the King) with the Reports "of the Duke of *Lenox* his Death, who "partly thro' Grief, partly thro' the long "and troubleſome Journey he made in that "cold and rainy Seaſon, contracted a Fever "at his coming to *Paris*, whereof after a "few Days he died. Some Hours before

"his

" his expiring, there came to him a Prieſt
" or two to do their accuſtom'd Service,
" whom he would not admit, profeſſing to
" die in the Faith of the Church of *Scot-*
" *land*, and to keep the Oath which he had
" given to the King inviolate. This the
" King made to be proclaim'd at *Edinburgh*,
" that the People might ſee what Wrong the
" Duke had ſuſtain'd, during his Abode in
" the Realm, by the uncharitable Suſpici-
" ons both of Miniſters and others." The Reader will here plainly ſee his Diſingenuity in ſuppreſſing this Account, which he muſt have known; becauſe he owns himſelf to have read this Hiſtory of *Spotſwood*, and which no Body could have doubted, if he had not thought fit to have told us ſo. Now, in Contradiction to this Authority, he boldly aſſerts that the Duke of *Lenox* was a Papiſt. What greater Certitude can we have of any Man's Religion, than when in his laſt Agony he avows with his expiring Breath that he dies in the ſame Opinion which he profeſs'd during Life? And what makes it ſtill the more indubitable, is, that he was now in a Popiſh Part of the World, where, if he had been of that Perſuaſion, there is no room to imagine but he would have died in the Religion of the Country. More than all this, here is the Sanction of publick Authority, an Act of the Government, a Proclamation by the King to declare

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this Matter to the People. This is ſuch a Teſtimony of a private Subject's Religion, which I believe no Man in *Scotland* ever had before or ſince. After the Notoriety of this Fact, what can we think of an Author who has the Confidence, in Contradiction to all theſe Motives of Credibility, thus to affirm that this Nobleman was a Papiſt? This is not only the Height of Injuſtice to the Dead, but an Impoſition on the Living, as well as the greateſt Arrogance in regard to God Almighty, thus to aſſume the Prerogative of Omniſcience, by daring to enter into the ſecret Receſſes of Man's Mind. So that after all, as there is no room left for the Poſſibility of a Miſtake, or Ignorance, we muſt charge him with aſſerting a poſitive Untruth, contrary to his own Knowledge and the Conviction of his Conſcience.

This is the Man, who declares that he cannot do God and the World greater Service than by publiſhing this Book, which he ſeems to dedicate to the Searcher of all Hearts, by that moſt ſolemn Appeal which he makes to him as Witneſs of the Truths which he aſſerts. If theſe, and ſuch as theſe, are the Services which he has render'd to God Almighty, it is to be hop'd that he heartily repented in his laſt Moments; otherwiſe, without any Breach

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of Chriſtian Charity, we have reaſon to be very much afraid, that ſomebody elſe has by this time paid him his Wages. But I will dwell no longer on this Part of his Impiety; it fills me, as it muſt the Reader, with too much Horror.

Not content to injure private Perſons, he judges with the ſame Raſhneſs of Princes; he firſt charges poſitively King James with writing a Letter to the Pope, and then comes off with a general Belief of that Matter. The Reader will beſt judge of his Charity by his own Words, *p.* 8. *The chief of theſe were* Elphinſton, *Secretary of State, whom he made Lord* Balmerinoch; *and* Seaton, *afterwards Chancellor and Earl of* Dunfermlin; *by their Means he ſtudied to aſſure the Papiſts that he would connive at them. A Letter was alſo writ to the Pope by him, giving Aſſurance of this, which, when it came to be publiſh'd by* Bellarmin, *upon the Proſecutions of the Recuſants, after the Diſcovery of the Gunpowder-Plot,* Balmerinoch *did affirm that he, out of Zeal to the King's Service, got his Hand to it, having put it into the Bundle of Papers that were ſign'd in courſe, without the King's knowing any thing of it. Yet when that Diſcovery drew no other Severity, but the turning him out of*

Office,

Office, and the passing a Sentence condemning him to die for it, which was presently pardon'd, (and he was, after a short Confinement, restor'd to his Liberty) all Men believ'd that the pretended Confession of the Secretary was only Collusion, to lay the Jealousy of the King's favouring Popery, which still hung on him, notwithstanding his writing on the Revelation, *and his affecting to enter, on all Occasions, into Controversy, asserting in particular that the Pope was Antichrist.*

THE Reader by this Paragraph may judge of the christian Temper of the Author, who, notwithstanding the Asseverations of a Person under Sentence of Death, will hearken to no Arguments but the Suggestions of his own Malice, and with a surprizing Temerity affirm, that the King wrote to the Pope, without giving the least good Reason to support the Belief of such a Scandal, so derogatory to the Character of that Prince, who always liv'd a Protestant, and died a Protestant, having never own'd any other Religion; who, as our Author says himself, wrote in Defence of the Reformation, and was in so ill Terms with his Holiness, that he endeavour'd to prove him Antichrist. What more certain Evidence can we have of any Man's Religion? Nevertheless, it is plain that our Author

thor would inſinuate, and have his Reader believe, that he was a Papiſt in his Heart. After ſuch a Violation of all Charity, why may we not, upon as good Grounds, and with equal Juſtice, inſinuate that Dr. *Burnet* was no Chriſtian? I am ſure we ſhould have as many believe us. Before I part with this Paragraph, I muſt take notice of a very wiſe Saying in our great Hiſtorian, ſpeaking of my Lord *Balmerinoch*'s Crime; he ſays, *It drew no other Severity, but to turn him out of Office, and the paſſing a Sentence, condemning him to die for it.* What would our merciful Author have more, except the Power of Man had extended to Soul as well as Body? This is a moſt profound Remark; if a *Frenchman* ſhould read this extraordinary *Coup d'eſprit*, without enquiring into his Country, he would ſwear the Author was born in *Swiſſerland. But my Lord* Balmerinoch *was not put to Death;* therefore being turn'd out of a great and profitable Poſt, and being ſentenc'd to be hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd, was no great Severity in his Opinion. *This wicked Secretary was not hang'd; therefore his Confeſſion muſt be Colluſion, and the King muſt know of the Letter;* as if a Prince could not have Compaſſion on a faithful Miniſter, who, thro' a raſh and miſtaken Zeal, preſum'd without his Leave to ſerve him, and yet be guiltleſs himſelf.

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This is the Biſhop's Logick, which, vicious as it is, notwithſtanding he was a Doctor, is as good as his Divinity.

THE Reſtoration of Epiſcopacy in *Scotland* was what our Author could never forgive in King JAMES VI. of which he ſays thus, *p.* 9. *But tho' he ſet up Biſhops, he had no Revenues to give them, but what he was to purchaſe for them. During his Minority all the Tithes and Church-Lands were veſted in the Crown; but this was only in order to the granting them away to the Men who bore the chief Sway. It is true, when he came of Age, according to the Law of* Scotland, *he paſt a general Revocation of all that had been done in his Infancy; and by this he could have reſumed all thoſe Grants.* Here he acknowledges that the King had in his Power the Choice whether he would have paid the Grantees or no; he could have reſtor'd to the Church thoſe Tithes and Lands which in his Minority had ſacrilegiouſly been taken away; but he had the Generoſity to give them a valuable Conſideration. This Goodneſs and Bounty he never thinks fit to commend; but, on the contrary, ſeems not only to condemn the Manner, but the very Deſign itſelf, by the Reflections that he makes, *p.* 10. *The King intended to carry*

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on a Conformity in Matters of Religion with England, *and he began to buy from the Grantees many of the Eſtates that belong'd to the Biſhopricks. It was enacted, that a Form of Prayer ſhould be drawn for* Scotland; *and the King was authoriz'd to appoint the Habits in which divine Offices were to be perform'd. Some of the chief Holidays were order'd to be obſerv'd; the Sacrament was to be receiv'd kneeling, and to be given to the Sick; Confirmation was enacted, as alſo the Uſe of the Croſs in Baptiſm.* Theſe are ſome of the chief Errors in the King and Biſhops, for he mentions no other Actions, *viz.* the paying the Grantees the Value of Eſtates, to which they had no Right in Law or Equity, the reſtoring of the Croſs in Baptiſm, and the obliging the People to kneel at the Sacraments. All theſe things muſt needs give very great Offence, in a Country where the Goſpel was profeſt in the greateſt Purity; ſuch an Abomination calls loudly for the ſevereſt Cenſure from our Author; it is impoſſible that he ſhould paſs all this without giving a ſharp Reprimand: Let us ſee therefore how he will take his Leave of this Paragraph, *p. ibid. Great Oppoſition was made to all theſe Steps, and the whole Force of the Government was ſtrain'd to carry Elections to theſe Meetings, or to take*

take off thoſe who were choſen, in which it was thought no ſort of Practice was omitted. It was pretended ſome were frighted, and others were corrupted. This is a very heavy Charge on the King, the Church, and Adminiſtration in *Scotland:* But I muſt deſire the Reader to take notice, that our Author is not always equally raſh and bold; ſometimes he puts on a little Armour, and fights with Diſcretion; for when he has prepar'd you to believe what he dares not poſitively aſſert, for fear of Conviction, he often intrenches himſelf in a Parentheſis, ſuch as, *it was thought, as it was pretended, &c.* This Conduct ſecures him from a total Defeat, according to an old *Engliſh* Proverb, which is too mean and vulgar to be quoted. He goes on in the ſame Page with further Reflections on the Biſhops; of whom he ſays, *The Biſhops themſelves did their Part very ill; they generally grew haughty, they neglected their Functions, were often at Court, and loſt all Eſteem with the People; ſome few that were ſtricter, and more learned, did lean ſo groſly to Popery, that the Heat and Violence of the Reformation became the Subject of their Sermons and Diſcourſes.*

This is another Charge on the Biſhops. It is probable that ſome of them were Privy-Counſel-

Counſellors, or under other Obligations of attending the Court; but let their Call be what it will, I make no doubt but my Lord of *Sarum* was not leſs aſſiduous at *White-hall* and St. *James*'s, than the *Scotch* Biſhops at *Holyrood-houſe*, when the Hopes of a fatter Biſhoprick, eſpecially any Proſpect of a Vacancy in the See of *Canterbury*, tempted his Ambition to make his Court; the Diſappointment in which Pretenſions has made his Reſentment againſt a certain Prince, his greateſt Benefactor, not unaccountable. I do not doubt, but the Number of Souls in ſo large a Dioceſe as *Salisbury*, requir'd his Lordſhip's Attendance at home, in Diſcharge of his Paſtoral Care, as much as moſt Biſhopricks in *Scotland*. In the forecited Paragraph, he lets us into the Meaning of what he calls Papiſts, or being popiſhly inclin'd, with which he charges ſeveral both in *England* and *Scotland*, who could not, with any manner of Juſtice, be accus'd of being in the leaſt inclin'd to that Religion, Upon this Head he uſes a very ſhort Method with his Enemies, who were all thoſe who were orthodox in their Principles, and attach'd to the ancient and primitive Inſtitution of the Church. Theſe he diſtinguiſhes into Fools, or Knaves; the one under the Denomination of weak Men; and as for the others, when their

Learning, or other great Qualities, make that Character abſurd, he immediately dubs them either Papiſts, or Atheiſts, or inclin'd to Popery; in which laſt Claſs he reckons the *Scotch* Biſhops, who were recommendable either for the Strictneſs of their Lives or Learning; and the Reaſon which he gives for this Cenſure, was their preaching againſt Rebellion, and their condemning the Tumults, Sacrileges, Murders, Treaſons, acted under *Knox*, and the principal Leaders of the People at the time of that great Change of Religion in *Scotland*, all which Violences have ever been lamented by wiſe, good, and moderate Men, as having given ſo great a Handle to the Enemies of the Proteſtant Religion, and brought as much Diſgrace, as the contrary Conduct in the Church of *England*, has done Honour to the Reformation. By this it ſeems, that the mild, gentle, and legal Methods Practis'd in *England*, on the ſame Occaſion, did not ſo well ſuit with the fiery and turbulent Temper of our Author, who ſeems in his Religion and Politicks, very much to reſemble the Nature of a Porpoiſe, a kind of Sea-Monſter, who always delights in rough Water, and is ſeldom ſeen to riſe and play but juſt before a Tempeſt.

THUS

THUS has he ſum'd up the Errors, which he charges on the King and Biſhops; the chief of which in ſhort are, their going too frequently to Court, their condemning the horrid Principles of *Knox* and *Buchanan*, their introducing a decent Diſcipline in the Church, and obliging the People to a Poſture of Reverence at the moſt tremendous Myſtery of the Chriſtian Religion; all which he ſeems to blame, by falſely affirming that they could not be obtain'd but by indirect and corrupt Means. Thus we are oblig'd to the profound Sagacity and Penetration of our Author, in diſcovering the ſecret Springs that gave the firſt Movement to thoſe momentous Events which follow'd ſoon after. Theſe Trifles, if they were true, in the Opinion of this great Man, are ſufficient Cauſes to produce and juſtify that terrible Sedition which rag'd ſo many Years in *Scotland*, and at laſt ripen'd into **The Solemn League and Covenant**, the Parent of that unnatural Rebellion, which involv'd two flouriſhing Kingdoms in Blood and Deſolation, deſtroy'd the beſt of Kings, the eſtabliſh'd Church, and a Monarchy almoſt as ancient as the Rocks of our Iſland, with all the diſmal Calamities which are inſeparable from a Civil War, inſpir'd by the Zeal and Madneſs of a falſe Religion.

THE next ill grounded Inſinuation is in relation to Prince *Henry*, whoſe immature Death he would have you believe was the Effect of Poiſon; for in *p.* 11. he has theſe Words: *Whether his Averſion to Popery haſten'd his Death or no, I cannot tell; Colonel* Titus *aſſur'd me, that he had from King* CHARLES I.'S *own Mouth that he was well aſſur'd that he was poiſon'd by the means of* Somerſet.

I am very tender of putting any forc'd Conſtruction on the Meaning of the Author; nor would I venture to gueſs at any Deſign he might have, which his Words do not undeniably intimate, if I were not very apprehenſive of a Snake in the Graſs, and that he has laid a Trap for his Reader, of which I think myſelf oblig'd to give him Warning, that he may be upon his Guard. I ſhould have more Charity for another who had not given the ſame Reaſon for Suſpicion; but ſince I have been oblig'd to ſtudy ſo much this Hiſtorian, I am perfectly acquainted with his little Cunning, that crooked and ſerpentine Train of Malice, when he goes round about with a Deſign, at a Diſtance, thro' the Sides of one Man to wound another. He ſeems to inſinuate, that if this Prince was poiſon'd,

ſon'd, it was upon account of his Averſion to Popery: Now *Somerſet*, whom he mentions, having never been accus'd, even by himſelf, of being favourable to that Religion, is not a very likely Perſon to have perpetrated ſuch a Wickedneſs on that account. But the Biſhop knew very well, that the Puritans at this time, with their uſual Impudence, in moſt virulent Libels, charg'd the King himſelf with having made away his Son: Now he was ſenſible, if he could but once eſtabliſh the Opinion of that Prince's being really poiſon'd, of courſe a great Part of the Suſpicion would fall upon the King; for the Belief of which he has prepar'd the Reader, by telling him before, that King JAMES fear'd his Son more than he lov'd him. Beſides, the Pains which he has all along taken to make the World believe how much that Prince was addicted to Popery, both before and after he came to *England*, ſeem to mark him as the moſt likely to have made ſuch a Sacrifice to his Fear and Bigotry. If this were his Deſign, the only way to defeat him, is to prove the Improbability of any Poiſon at all being in the Caſe, and to give the Readers ſome of the falſe Reaſons for this unjuſt Surmiſe, which gave a Handle to the Malice of the Puritans. But firſt let us conſider his hearſay Evidence,

which we are not at all oblig'd to believe on his bare Aſſertion, after the Experience we have had of his Probity. But ſuppoſe Colonel *Titus* did really tell him ſo, it does not follow that King CHARLES I. might not poſſibly be miſinform'd or miſtaken. But for once, and no more, we will confront one Hearſay with another, which is a Story that formerly was very commonly told, tho' perhaps at preſent the Tradition may be a little worn out, by the Length and greater Diſtance of Time: In the Reign of King JAMES I. there was a very eminent Quack, and, if I miſtake not, his Name was *Butler*, a notorious and moſt rigid Puritan. This Perſon happening to be preſent when the Body of Prince *Henry* was open'd, deſir'd Leave to try an Experiment; upon which, taking a Piece of Gold between his Fingers, which he had rub'd before with Quickſilver, or ſome other mercurial Preparation, he put it into the Prince's Mouth: After it had lain there ſome time, the Gold being taken out by being diſcolour'd, and ſome other Marks ſurpriz'd the Company, and gave a Suſpicion of Poiſon; but this Impoſture ſome time after being detected, confirm'd the contrary Opinion. This Story, whether true or no, has the Weight and Sanction of common Tradition, which

I look

I look upon as good Authority, as the Author's Vouchers in the other World.

I ſhould not have laid ſo much Streſs on this Matter, if the Author had been ſpeaking of any other Perſon but King JAMES, againſt whom he has ſo inveterate a Malice, as is evident by the barbarous unjuſt Character which he gives of that Prince, who, it is true, had ſome Faults; but on the other hand, he had as many conſpicuous Virtues, which he does not vouchſafe to mention, while with the laſt Diſingenuity he aggravates his Failings, in Violation of that Equity, which is ſo abſolutely eſſential to a juſt and faithful Hiſtorian.

THE next Fault he finds with King JAMES, was his Refuſal to ruſh into a War with the Emperor, on behalf of his Son-in-law the Elector *Palatine:* He tells us, *p.* 13. *That the* Engliſh *Nation was inclin'd to ſupport it, and it was expected that ſo near a Conjunction would have prevail'd on the King; but he had an invincible Averſion to War; and was ſo poſſeſs'd of the Opinion of the divine Right of all Kings, that he could not bear that an elective and limited King, ſhould be call'd in Queſtion by his Sub-*

jects, ſo that he would never acknowledge his Son-in-law King.

In the firſt place, we muſt conſider that the Behaviour of *Frederick* towards his Father-in-law was ſo diſreſpectful, in not asking his Advice in a Matter of ſo great Conſequence; nay, not ſo much as acquainting him with his Reſolution to accept the Crown of *Bohemia*, as might make King James, and not without Reaſon, the cooler in his Concerns. Yet notwithſtanding the Juſtice of any Reſentment which he might have on this Occaſion, we find that this Prince left no Stone unturn'd to ſerve the *Paltſgrave*, by Mediations, Treaties, and advantageous Propoſals, made to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, in order to reſtore him to his Patrimony, tho' he could not in Honour ſupport his Pretenſions to the Crown of *Bohemia*, the Poſſeſſion of which, had been founded on a Revolt of the *Bohemians* from their lawful Prince the Emperor. But without any Conſideration of the divine Right of Kings, as our Author pretends, he had better Reaſons to juſtify his Conduct; his Experience had ſhewn him how fatal this Politick in Queen *Elizabeth* had been to his own Mother. As no Prince would be willing that another Potentate ſhould ſup-

ſupport the Rebellion of his own Subjects againſt himſelf; ſo he could not in Prudence, as well as Juſtice, do that Injury to another, which might be retaliated on his own Head. But the Argument does not turn on the Point either of Intereſt or Safety: There is no Diſpute but King JAMES had Inclination to have ſupported his Daughter, and her Children; but the Queſtion is, whether or no, by Force of Arms, was lawful in the Sight of God, who has commanded us not to do to another what we would not have done to ourſelves; there are Laws of Nations, and Rules of common Juſtice, to reſtrain Princes as well as other Men; it ſeems that nobleſt Precept of Chriſtianity had more Weight with the King than the Biſhop, who ought to have been the better Divine, ſo much, as not to have let his Politicks run away with his Religion: But tho' he would not be govern'd by his Bible, he might have been inſtructed in the Caſuiſtry of this Caſe by an honeſt old Heathen Author, *Tully*, who in his *Offices* has very well handled the Caſe of the *utile* and *honeſtum*, in which Diſcuſſion, that Pagan, in Oppoſition to ſome modern Chriſtian Divines, has fairly prov'd that every thing that is profitable is not juſt. This is true Morality, tho' contrary to the Opinion of

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our Author, and thoſe of his Principles, who by their Practice all along have ſo confounded theſe two Notions as to make them convertible Terms, and to ſignify one and the ſame thing. Beſides the Fault of King JAMES, there is one Reaſon which he gives for *Frederick*'s Misfortunes, which is leſs weighty than diverting: *p.* 14. he tells us, *That his Queen ſet up ſome of the gay Diverſions which ſhe had been accuſtom'd to in her Father's Court, as Balls and Masks, which very much diſguſted the good* Bohemians. If Balls and Masks are ſufficient to make Princes loſe the Affections of their Subjects, I am afraid that moſt of the crown'd Heads in *Europe* are but in an ill Condition at this time of Day. By this Remark of our Author, we may plainly ſee that thoſe *Huſſites*, whom he calls his good *Bohemians*, very much reſembled, in their Preciſeneſs, the good Kirk of *Scotland*. And there is no doubt to be made, if that Princeſs had ventur'd to have introduc'd *Engliſh* Plumb-broth and Minc'd-Pies, ſhe would have given as much Scandal in *Bohemia*, as ſuch an enormous Remnant of Popery has often done on the other Side of the *Twede*.

He renews his Attack upon King *James* in the next Page 15. *Other Circumſtances concurr'd to make King* James's *Reign inglorious: The* States *having borrow'd great Sums of Money of Queen* Elizabeth, *they gave her the* Brill *and* Fluſhing, *with ſome other Places of leſs Note, in Pawn, till the Money ſhould be repay'd*; —— ibid. Barnevolt *perſwaded the* States *to redeem the Mortgage, by paying the Money which* England *had lent, for which thoſe Places were put into her Hands; and he came over himſelf to treat about it. King* James, *who was profuſe on his Favourites and Servants, was delighted with the Proſpect of ſo much Money, and immediately, without calling a Parliament to adviſe with them about it, he did yield to the Propoſals; ſo the Money was paid, and the Places were evacuated.* Here he arraigns a Prince for doing, what if upon any Pretence whatſoever he had refus'd, he muſt have violated both his Honour and Conſcience. The Reader, I do not doubt, is entirely of my Opinion in this Matter; ſo I ſhall make no farther Remarks on this Blunder, by endeavouring to prove that Obligation, which every common Pawnbroker would have been aſham'd not to have diſcharg'd, if no Law had

N. This Debt was compounded for at 800,000 l. Burnet has not obſerved it. K. James was under no Obligation to part with the Towns on ſuch Terms.

had oblig'd him to ſuch a Piece of Juſtice. Thus we may ſee how injudicious Men may be tranſported by Malice to break their own Teeth, with gnawing the Virtues of their Enemies.

NOW at laſt he brings this Prince to the End of a Reign, which with the laſt Injuſtice, he has made ſo black and infamous. He goes on in the ſame Tract of Scandal, and would have you believe that King JAMES was poiſon'd as well as Prince *Henry*, *p.* 11. *Soon after the King was taken ill of ſome Fits of an Ague, and died of it. My Father was then in* London, *and did very much ſuſpect an ill Practice in the Matter; but perhaps Dr.* Craig, *my Mother's Uncle, who was one of the King's Phyſicians, poſſeſs'd him with theſe Apprehenſions; for he was diſgrac'd for ſaying that he believ'd the King was poiſon'd.* Both theſe Notions he inſinuates with the ſame View, probably to make the Son as wicked as the Father; for it is very well known, that the Puritans made no Scruple to charge not only the Duke of *Buckingham*, but even King *Charles* himſelf, with having us'd foul Play towards his Father; and this went ſo far as to be brought on the Stage by that Faction in Parliament, tho', to their Confuſion, they could make nothing of the Matter, but to convince the World

World of their Malice. So that till we have better Authority, notwthſtanding the Opinion of his Father and Uncle, we muſt condemn this Story as ſcandalous, being only rais'd by the Malice of the Puritans, a Set of Men, who, as it is manifeſt by their conſtant Conduct, being under no Reſtraints of Conſcience, have always thought it not only juſt, but meritorious, to ſay any thing of their Enemies, eſpecially when it is to advance their own wicked Deſigns, nothing being more plain than that their View in this Forgery was to blacken the Reputation of King CHARLES I. by charging him with Paricide: But providentially King JAMES died of a Semitertian Ague, a Diſtemper generally fatal to old Men, and whoſe Paroxiſms were ſo periodical and regular as not poſſibly to be counterfeited by any Art of Poiſon; beſides, upon opening the Body there appear'd no Marks of Violence, but on the contrary all the Signs of a natural Death. As for what he ſays, *That it is certain no King could die leſs lamented, or leſs eſteem'd than he was*, this is all of a piece with the reſt; he muſt undoubtedly mean the Puritans in both Kingdoms; for it is notorious that the Epiſcopal Party, both in *Scotland* and *England*, eſpecially in the latter, where the eſtabliſh'd Church conſiſted of the Nobility, Gentry, and the Body of the People, very much regretted the Loſs

of

of this Prince. But this is no more, than what on the ſame Occaſion, and which I ſhall take notice of in its proper Place, he ſays of his Grandſon *Charles* II. whom he has treated after the ſame manner, as well as all the Royal Family, whom he worries with a moſt rabid Fury.

At the ſame time that he finds fault with King James for his Averſion to the Puritans, he himſelf gives us ſuch a Character of thoſe People as wou'd make all Mankind deteſt them; for, *p.* 17, he ſays, *The Puritans gain'd Ground as the King and the Biſhops loſt it; they put on external Appearances of great Strictneſs and Gravity; they took more Pains in their Pariſhes than thoſe who adher'd to the Biſhops, and were often preaching againſt the Vices of the Court, for which they were ſometimes puniſh'd, tho' very gently.* Here, as it is not his Cuſtom to praiſe his Enemies, he does not think fit to commend this Lenity of the Government, or ſhew any Mark of Reſentment againſt the Ingratitude of thoſe People, who ſo abus'd that Goodneſs. He proceeds in a farther Deſcription of them, and tells us, *They were factious and inſolent, and both in their Sermons and Prayers were always mixing ſevere Reflections on their Enemies.* In the ſame Page he tells us, *They were very ſpiteful againſt all thoſe who differ'd from them, and were want-*

wanting in no Methods that could procure them good Uſage, or good Preſents. Of this my Father had great Occaſion to ſee many Inſtances; for my Great-grandmother, who was a very rich Woman, and much engag'd to them, was moſt obſequiouſly courted by them. Bruce *liv'd conceal'd in her Houſe for ſome Years; and they all found ſuch Advantages in their Submiſſions to her, that ſhe was counted for many Years the chief Support of that Party. Her Name was* Rachel Arnot; *ſhe was Daughter to Sir* John Arnot, *a Man in great Favour, and Lord Treaſurer Deputy; her Husband* Johnſton *was the greateſt Merchant of that Time, and left her an Eſtate of* 2000*l. a year to be diſpos'd of among her Children. And my Father marrying her eldeſt Grandchild, ſaw a great way into the Method of the Puritans.* After ſo vile a Character, as he has given of theſe People, one would have thought in Prudence he ſhould have conceal'd the Faults of his Family, in being attach'd to Men of ſuch ill Principles; a diſcreeter Author would have let the old Gentlewoman have ſlept quietly in her Grave, without bringing her again on the Stage, by telling the World that ſhe was ſo very weak and ſilly as to be deluded by ſuch hypocritical Miſcreants, and ſo criminal, as in Defiance of the Laws, to harbour ſuch Wretches in her Houſe, and skreen them from

from the Hands of Juſtice. But it is to his Vanity that we owe this Story, to let the World know, that one of his Anceſtors was Lord Treaſurer Deputy, and that another had 2000 *l. per Annum:* Without this View we had never heard of Mrs. *Rachel Arnot*, who ſeems to have communicated to her Poſterity, a great Reſemblance of her Chaplains; for whoever will take the Pains to examine ſtrictly her Great-grandſon, will find exactly all the Lineaments of Maſter *Bruce*, and thoſe holy Men, whoſe Characters he has ſo copiouſly given, and in which he ſeems to have drawn his own Picture to the Life: Whether or no our Author ow'd thoſe very ſame Talents and Qualities to Nature or Art, I know not, if to the laſt, the Copy has infinitely tranſcended the Original.

NOT content to have laid King JAMES in his Grave, he will not let let him be quiet there; but before he begins the ſucceeding Reign, rallies all his Malice to give one parting Blow. Hitherto he has not dar'd poſitively to accuſe him but of common Wickedneſs; but now, to take his Leave, he boldly, and without mincing the Matter, peremptorily charges that Prince with the greateſt Crime againſt God and Man, a wilful and premeditated Murder. This is the Affair of the Earl of *Murray*, of which he

he gives this Account, *p.* 19. *Eight Years before that Time, King* James *on a ſecret Jealouſy of the Earl of* Murray, *then eſteem'd the handſomeſt Man of* Scotland, *ſet on the Marqueſs of* Huntley, *who was his mortal Enemy, to murder him, and by a Writing, all under his own Hand, he promiſed to ſave him harmleſs for it. He ſet the Houſe in which he was on Fire, and the Earl flying away, was follow'd and murder'd; and* Huntley *ſent* Gourdon *of* Bucquey *with the News to the King.* Who would not believe in reading this Account, in which he mentions *Murray*'s Beauty and the King's Jealouſy, that this was ſome Love Affair, and that the Murder againſt which he exclaims, if he had not told you the Manner, had been committed by Sword or Piſtol, or at leaſt Poiſon in a clandeſtine Way? But let us ſee what Archbiſhop *Spotſwood* ſays of this Matter: We muſt go back a little way to give the Reader more Light into this Affair, which was a Conſpiracy againſt the King's Perſon; of which Archbiſhop *Spotſwood* ſays thus, p. 386.

" *Bothwell* is eaſily drawn in to conde-
" ſcend; and the Conſpiracy ſo order'd,
" that he and his Followers ſhould, under
" Night, be let in at a back Paſſage, that
" lay thro' the Lord Duke's Stables; and
" firſt that they ſhould ſeize upon the
" Gates, take the Keys from the Porter,

" and go afterwards to the King's Cham-
" ber, and make him ſure. This is the Account of the Deſign, by which we may ſee how neceſſary it is for Sovereign Princes to have Guards for the Defence of their Perſons, when we find ſuch frequent Examples of the Kings of *Scotland*, being expos'd to the Attempts of a few deſperate Men, who have often ſucceeded in murdering, or making them Priſoners, even in their own Bed-chambers. The ſame Author proceeds to give an Account of the Execution of the Deſign. When *Bothwell*, with his Company, had enter'd
" by the Way nam'd, and was come in-
" to the inner Court of the Palace, *James*
" *Douglas*, who minded nothing but the
" Relief of his Servants, drew a Number to
" break open the Doors where they were
" detain'd, and by the Noiſe thereof, all
" in the Palace were put upon their Guard.
" The King was then at Supper; and be-
" ing told that armed Men were in the
" nether Court, leaving the Rooms where-
" in he lodg'd, went up to the Tower,
" as a Place of greater Surety. *Bothwell*
" having directed ſome to incloſe the
" Chancellor's Lodgings, leſt he ſhould
" eſcape, made towards the Queen's Rooms,
" where he expected to find Entry; and per-
" ceiving all ſhut upon him, call'd to
" bring Fire. But e'er they cou'd find
" any

" any, Sir *James Sandilands*, one of his " Majeſty's Chamber, who had ſupp'd " without the Palace with a Number of " People of *Edinburgh*, entering by the " Church of *Holyrood Houſe*, did beat " him and his Company from the Doors, " and was in a Poſſibility of taking them " all, if there had been any Lights; but " theſe being all extinguiſh'd, *Bothwell*, " with the Principals of his Company, " made ſhift in the Dark, and eſcap'd, re- " turning by the ſame Way that he had " enter'd. In his out-going, he was en- " counter'd by a Gentleman of the Equer- " ry, named *John Shaw*, whom he kill'd " with a Piſtol, yet loſt ſome nine of his " Followers, Men of ſmall Note, who were " executed next Morning. I have been more particular in giving this Account, to ſhew the Heinouſneſs of the Crime, with which the Earl of *Murray* was charg'd; in which Matter Biſhop *Spotſwood* proceeds, and gives a Relation of his Death, " *p.* 387. The Enterprize thus defeated, " *Bothwell* went into the *North*, look- " ing to be ſupply'd by the Earl of *Mur-* " *ray*, his Couſin German; which the " King ſuſpecting, *Andrew* Lord *O Chil-* " *try* was ſent to bring *Murray* into the " *South*, on purpoſe to work a Reconcile- " ment betwixt him and *Huntley*; but a " Rumour being rais'd in the mean while,

" that the Earl of *Murray* was ſeen in
" the Palace with *Bothwell* on the Night
" of the Enterprize, the ſame was enter-
" tain'd by *Huntley*, (who waited then at
" Court) to make him ſuſpected of the
" King; and prevail'd) ſo far, as he did
" purchaſe a Commiſſion to apprehend and
" bring *Murray* to his Trial. The No-
" bleman, not fearing any ſuch Courſe
" wou'd be us'd, was come to *Duny-*
" *briſſill*, a Houſe ſituated on the North
" of *Forth*, and belonging to his Mother
" the Lady *Downe*. *Huntley* being ad-
" vetis'd of his coming, and how he lay
" there ſecure, accompany'd only with the
" Sheriff of *Murray*, and a few of his own
" Retinue, went thither and beſet the
" Houſe, requiring him to ſurrender. The
" Earl of *Murray*, refuſing to put him-
" ſelf into the Hands of his Enemies,
" after ſome Defence made, in which the
" Sheriff was kill'd, Fire was ſet to the
" Houſe, and they within, forc'd, by the
" Violence of the Smoak and Flame, to
" come forth. The Earl ſtaid a great
" Space after the reſt, and the Night
" falling down, ventur'd among his Ene-
" mies, and breaking thro' the Midſt of
" them, did ſo far out-run them all, as
" they ſuppos'd he had eſcap'd; yet ſearch-
" ing among the Rocks, he was diſco-
" ver'd by the Tip of his Head-piece, which

" had

" had taken Fire before he left the Houſe,
" and unmercifully ſlain.

THIS is *Spotſwood*'s Account of this Matter, which I have given entire, to prevent any Objections of Partiality, and that the Reader may be the better Judge of the whole Affair. The Truth of this Narration cannot be doubted, the Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews* being then on the Spot, and, as it were, an Eye-witneſs of this Matter, which happen'd not long before he wrote, and which ſo many living Witneſſes could have contradicted, if not true. So that we may venture to ſay, that this is the firſt time, ever ſince there was ſuch a thing as Government, that the Death of a Perſon, charg'd with the greateſt of Crimes againſt the Prince, a Deſign on his Perſon, and who not only refus'd to ſubmit to the Civil Power, who came with a lawful Authority to apprehend him, but reſiſted, and kill'd the Sheriff in the Execution of his Office, was ever adjudg'd to be Murder. This will ſeem the ſtranger in *England*, where the Authority of that Officer is ſo ſacred, that the meaneſt of his Bailiffs, upon a Civil Action, when the Safety of the Government is unconcern'd, is allow'd to kill any one who ſhall reſiſt him in the ſerving of a common Writ; an Inſtance of which we had very lately, in

the Caſe of Captain *Lutterel*. But the Account given by the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, is directly contrary to Truth in every Particular: He ſays, that the King laid hold on the Hatred of *Huntley* towards *Murray*, to incite him to the Murder; and Archbiſhop *Spotſwood* on the other hand, tells us, that the King ſent the Lord *O Chiltry* into the North, to bring up *Murray*, in order to a Reconciliation with the Marqueſs of *Huntley*. In the mean while, Information was given of his being concern'd with *Bothwell* in the Conſpiracy, and actually with him in Perſon at the time of the Enterprize; upon which the Warrant was given by the King for his Apprehenſion.

I cannot in the leaſt doubt but the Reader is by this time ſufficiently ſatisfy'd of the Diſingenuity and Injuſtice of our Author, in this barbarous Aſperſion on the Memory of King JAMES VI. If he had been more candid and ſincere in the reſt of his Book, this one Story is enough to blaſt his Credit, by deſtroying all Opinion of his Faith and Probity: This one Inſtance is ſufficient to ſhew the Man and his Principles.

——— *Crimine ab uno*
Diſce omnes ———

As it is not eaſy to find Words that can expreſs a juſt Indignation, againſt this cruel Treat-

Treatment of a crown'd Head in the Grave, ſo it is not leſs difficult to aſſign any reaſonable Cauſe for this extravagant and unaccountable Malice againſt this Prince, who was dead at leaſt eighteen Years before the Author was born; ſo he could have receiv'd no perſonal Injury from King JAMES; and if any Injuſtice had been done to his Anceſtors, we ſhould have heard that with both Ears from our Author, whoſe Vanity would not let him ſlip any Occaſion of mentioning his Family, to whom one muſt otherwiſe have concluded, that ſome great Outrage had been done, that this wicked Prince had confiſcated and taken away the Eſtate of 2000 *l. per Annum*, belonging to the great Merchant *Johnſton*; or, at leaſt, in ſome Tranſport of his Luſt, had raviſh'd good *Rachel Arnot*.

OUR Hiſtorian now opens a new Scene under *Charles* I. whoſe Errors he makes as hereditary as his Title; and as he dwells moſt of this Reign, as in the preceding, on the Affairs of *Scotland*, we find the ſame Partiality, the ſame Injuſtice, the ſame wrong Turns, and every thing ſet in the ſame falſe Light as before; upon all which, if we ſhould particularly animadvert, the Objections and Remarks would be as endleſs as the Errors

rors and Falſhoods which he would impoſe on the World: But with all the Pains that he takes, the Arguments which he uſes to leſſen the Character of this Prince, and to make him deſerve his Misfortunes, are eaſily refuted, by only doing him the Juſtice to let the World know, that he was conſtantly betray'd, and always, with the Fate of his Family, by thoſe under the greateſt Obligations of Fidelity. What humane Prudence could ſucceed, when thoſe, to whoſe Cuſtody was committed the Care of his Perſon, when the very Men who lay in his Bedchamber took that Opportunity to pick pick his Pockets when aſleep, and ſend Copies of his Letters to his Enemies? A modeſt Diſtruſt of himſelf made him often rely on the Advice of others, whoſe Judgment was leſs than his own; a Fatality, which could hardly be prevented, by the Difficulty of finding many of his Subjects who had more. As moſt of his Faults were the Extreams of his Virtues, the fatal Condeſcenſions that he made to his Parliaments proceeded from the Excellency and Goodneſs of his Nature, and from the Integrity of a Heart, which deſir'd ſo paſſionately to give all manner of Satisfaction to his People, who made ſo ill Uſe of that Bounty. But with all his Failings, before he fell into the Hands of his Enemies, he had it in his Pow-

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er to have ſav'd both his Life and his Crown, at the Expence of his Conſcience; and not only the King, but his two great Miniſters, *Strafford* and *Laud*, had all three gone to the Grave with their Heads on their Shoulders, if they would have conſented to ſacrifice the Church, and aboliſh Epiſcopacy. That this was the true and only Quarrel, is plain by **The Solemn League and Covenant**, in which their is no Complaint of Liberties invaded, but only an impious Engagement to extirpate Prelacy in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. But without doing this Violence to his Conſcience, with all his Faults and Miſtakes, both real and imaginary, if his Councils had been kept ſecret, and his Orders faithfully executed, he would ſtill have vanquiſh'd his Enemies, and *England* have eſcap'd the Infamy of that Stroke which no Time can obliterate. We ſhould have wanted one Red-letter Day in our Calendar, and ſhould not at this time, in the ſecond and third Generation, have been expiating the Sins of our Fathers: Then the World, which always judges of Men and Actions only by Succeſs, would have ſeen thoſe Virtues in the Sun-ſhine of proſperous Fortune, which now they cannot diſcover thro' the Clouds of Adverſity; we ſhould at this Day with Pleaſure be reading his Story, and admiring the King and the Hero, inſtead of bewailing the Saint and the Martyr.

P. 26.

P. 26. there is an extraordinary Remark. *But the unaccountable Part of the King's Proceeding was, that all this while, when he was endeavouring to recover ſo great a Part of the Property of* Scotland, *as the Church-Lands and Tithes were, from Men who were not likely to part with them willingly, and when he was going to change the whole Conſtitution of that Church and Kingdom, he rais'd no Forces to maintain what he was about to do. By this all People ſaw the Weakneſs of the Government, at the ſame time that they complain'd of his Rigour.* Here our good Author combates a Phantaſm of his own raiſing, and falls into his uſual Inconſiſtencies and Contradictions of himſelf. What Rigour, what Change of the Conſtitution in Church and State can he poſſibly mean? As to the Government of the Church, the King found it Epiſcopal at his Acceſſion to the Throne; and as for the Tithes and Church-lands, he has own'd himſelf before, that they were legally veſted in the Crown, according to the Laws of *Scotland*, in the Time of his Father JAMES VI. So here could be no Violation of Property, in taking that, to which no Body had a Right, but himſelf, according to Law. However, he was ſo generous as to pay them the Value of thoſe Lands, which was a meer Act of Bounty. This he confirms in a Page or two before; where he tells, that the King

bought

bought the Abbies of *Aberbroth* and *Glaſgow*, with *Engliſh* Money, of the Dukes of *Lenox* and *Hamilton*, both which Abbies, he gave to the Church; the one to that of St. *Andrews*, and the other to *Glaſgow*. Why he mentions that theſe Lands were bought with *Engliſh* Money we cannot imagine: What it may be in *England*, the Exportation of ſo much Coin, I know not; but I am confident, that the bringing in ſo much good *Engliſh* Money, was not thought a very great Crime in *Scotland*.

By this we may ſee how our Author argues; the giving Lands to the Church, and Money to his Subjects, he calls changing the Conſtitution in Church and State. This was the Violation of Property againſt which he ſo exclaims; this was the Violence which ought to be ſupported by ſtanding Troops. If Dr. *Burnet* had been Miniſter to this Prince, we ſee what fine Counſel he would have given him. By this political Reflection, we may judge, that the Author was better vers'd in the Maxims of *Matchiavel*, than the Precepts of the Goſpel. Thus this Remark in our great Hiſtorian, affects not the Prudence and Conduct of this Prince, who, having no ill Deſign, had no occaſion for ill Means to ſupport his Integrity and Innocence. *p.* 33. he renews his Character of the Presbyterian Miniſters in *Scotland*, which can have

have no other Effect on the Reader, but to raiſe his Aſtoniſhment as well as Indignation, to conſider how ſuch Wretches, as he himſelf deſcribes them, ſhould have the Influence ſo abſolutely to govern the Nobility, Gentry, and common People of one Kingdom, and infect ſo great a Part of another.

THE Author and his Friends, in Juſtification of the Rebellion againſt *Charles* I. have always endeavour'd to make the World believe, that the King was the Aggreſſor, and by his ill Government and Oppreſſions forc'd the People to take up Arms in their own Defence. But he now gives another Account of the Motives, which engag'd the *Scots* to join with the *Engliſh* in the War, tho' at the ſame time he does not, in telling his Story, very much conſult the Honour of his Country; for *p.* 35. he ſays thus: *When the War broke out in* England, *the* Scots *had a great Mind to go into it; the decay'd Nobility, the military Men, and the Miniſters, were violently ſet on it; they ſaw what good Quarters they had in the North of* England. Thus, thro' his Inadvertency, he gives us the true Motives which engag'd that wicked People to join in that unnatural War againſt the beſt of Men and Kings: So that, by his own Confeſſion, it is evident, that their true Deſign, was to get the unrighteous Mammon of *England*, and to wallow in the Plun-

Plunder of a Country ſo much better than their own; all which, the Hypocrites varniſh'd over with the ſpecious Pretence of Religion, till they had reduc'd that unfortunate Prince to the Neceſſity of flinging himſelf into their Arms for Protection; which they had not the Honour, Conſcience, nor Juſtice, to give him; but with an execrable Perfidy, for a Sum of Money, baſely deliver'd the Royal Victim into the Hands of his *Engliſh* Butchers.

In *Page* 40, he brings my Lord *Antrim* upon the Stage, whom he frequently charges with being guilty of very much Bloodſhed; by which the Reader may plainly perceive, that his main Drift is to render both the King and Queen ſuſpected of being conſcious of the *Iriſh* Maſſacre, or ſome thing very like it; tho' in one Place he faintly acquits the King, by ſaying, that he was innocent of that Matter; yet afterwards he takes no ſmall Pains, by ſtrong Inſinuations, to make his Reader ſuſpect the contrary. But this is his conſtant Cunning: When he has a mind to do Miſchief, he firſt affects an Air of Impartiality, and pretends to do Juſtice; then immediately afterward he uſes ſo many Innuendo's, and ſpends his whole Quiver of Stories in Contradiction to what he ſaid before; whereas if he was truly ſincere, and had a mind that

Truth

Truth ſhould triumph, he would take a contrary Method, and conclude with his Arguments on that Side where he deſign'd to leave the moſt laſting Impreſſion. But let us ſee what he ſays of my Lord of *Antrim*, *p.* 40. *Upon this Occaſion I will relate ſomething of my Lord of* Antrim. *I had in my Hand ſeveral of his Letters to the King, in the Year* 1646, *writ in a very confident Style. One was ſomewhat particular: He in a Poſtſcript deſir'd the King to ſend the inclos'd to the good Woman, without making any Excuſe for the Preſumption, by which, as follows in the Poſtſcript, he meant his Wife the Dutcheſs of* Buckingham. *This makes me the more eaſy to believe a Story, that the Earl of* Eſſex *told me he had from the Earl of* Northumberland. I cannot but take Notice of this noble Inference, which is another Specimen of the Biſhop's Logick: Becauſe the Earl of *Antrim* was a little too familiar, and wanted Ceremony with his Prince; therefore he will believe any Bad of him, that he was a Raw-head and Bloody-bones, and eat up Women and Children, as we ſhall ſee by the Sequel. But to proceed with his Story. *Upon the Reſtoration, in the Year* 1660, *Lord* Antrim *was thought guilty of ſo much Bloodſhed, that it was taken for granted, that he could not be included in the Indemnity that was to paſs in* Ireland. *Upon this*

this, he (*Lord* Antrim) *ſeeing the Duke of* Ormond *ſet againſt him, came over to* London, *and was lodg'd in* Somerſet-houſe; *and it was believed, that having no Children, he ſettled his Eſtate on* Jermyn *Earl of St.* Alban's; *but before he came away, he had made a prior Settlement on his Brother. He petition'd the King to order a Committee of Council to examine the Warrants that he had acted upon. The Earl of* Clarendon *was for rejecting his Petition, as containing a high Indignity on the Memory of King* Charles I. *and ſaid plainly, that if any Perſon had pretended to affirm any ſuch thing while they were at* Oxford, *he would either have been ſeverely puniſh'd for it, or the King would ſoon have had a very thin Court; but it ſeem'd juſt to ſee what he had to ſay for himſelf: So a Committee was nam'd, of which the Earl of* Northumberland *was Chief. He produced then ſome of the King's Letters; but they did not come up to a full Proof. In one of them the King wrote, that he had not then Leiſure, but referr'd himſelf to the Queen's Letter, and ſaid that was all one as if he had writ himſelf. Upon this Foundation he produc'd a Series of Letters writ by himſelf to the Queen, in which he gave her an Account of every one of thoſe Particulars that were laid to his Charge, and ſhew'd the Grounds he went on, and deſir'd*

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Directions. To every one of these he had Answers, ordering him to do as he did. This the Queen-Mother espoused with the greatest Zeal, and said she was bound in Honour to save him. I myself was then at Court, and saw a great deal of that Management. As I believe there is no one who has any Knowledge of the World, or the least Veneration for the Memory of *Charles* I. will believe this absurd Story as it is represented. I do not doubt but to shew such Improbabilities as will shock the Faith of the most Credulous, tho' never so much biass'd to the Author. In the first place, he does not tell us any Particulars, when, how, and where this Blood was shed: He must mean the Massacre, or something of that Nature; for any other Bloodshed in the Field of Battle, in open War, and by Persons acting under a lawful Commission, could not be counted so criminal: If it were otherwise, is it possible to conceive that the *Rump Parliament*, and afterward *Cromwell*, would have let my Lord *Antrim* have sat quiet for twelve Years, if they could have charg'd him with any thing of that Nature, especially when they were tempted by the Confiscation of so noble an Estate, on which there was so great a Dependance and Vassalage? How absurd must it be therefore to believe that my Lord *Antrim*, who drew his Sword for

The Remarker here pays too great an Deference to the Justice of those Governments.

for the Crown, upon a Reſtoration in the Year Sixty, ſhould want that Indemnity and Pardon, for which he had no Occaſion under the Uſurpation of forty-eight? He might have had better Authority for this Story, if true, by recourſe to the Council-Books. But ſuppoſing there ſhould remain no Minutes of this Matter, there was no need of appealing to the Dead by this double Hearſay; the Author could have given us a more authentick Account himſelf from his own Knowledge of this Affair; for he ſays, *I myſelf ſaw a great deal of this Management, for I was then at Court.* But this Aſſertion muſt not paſs without a Remark. If we may believe the Date of his Birth on his Monument in *Clerkenwell* Church, Dr. *Gilbert Burnet* was born in *September* 1643, ſo that he was but between ſixteen and ſeventeen Years of Age, at the Reſtoration in 1660; at which time he affirms that he was at Court, and ſaw a great deal of the Management of Affairs. Now I appeal to the Conſcience of the Reader, whether or no it is credible, that ſo young, and conſequently ſo raw a Perſon, at moſt but an overgrown School-boy, at this time mean and obſcure, and of a Family by his Mother's Side ſo obnoxious, as to be excepted out of that Grace which was extended to the Guilt of a whole Nation, ſhould have ſo

much Intereſt as to be admitted at Court, let into the Secrets of State, and enter the Cabinet of Princes. I do not in the leaſt doubt, but that if a ſtrict Enquiry was made, it would be found that the Author was not yet come to *London* the Summer of the Reſtoration 1660. But let that be how it will, no Body can believe the laſt Part of the Story, that he was let into the Secrets of Queen-Mother at *Somerſet-houſe*. This Blunder is ſo unaccountable, as to make one admire how the Author could poſſibly be ſo ſtupidly careleſs, as not to reflect better on the Circumſtances of his own Age, before he ventur'd to impoſe ſo groſs an Abſurdity on the World. This verifies an old *Engliſh* Proverb, by ſhewing how neceſſary it is for one Sort of Men to have very good Memories. By this we may ſee, how little we can rely in other Matters of Fact, on the Faith and Veracity of a Man, who ſo blindly follows the Dictates of his Paſſion at the Expence of his Conſcience; who, to gratify his Rancour and Malice againſt the royal Family, makes no Scruple of ſtabbing the Memory of an innocent Princeſs, the Mother and Grandmother to five of his Kings and Queens, whoſe Subject he had the Honour to be born, and for whoſe ſake, if upon no other Account, he ought to have treated with more

more Respect and Justice, their common Parent.

In the following Page, he gives us an Account of the *Scots* Commissioners, who came to protest against putting the King to Death. In this Dispute he gives the Victory to *Cromwell* over his old Friends and Acquaintance the Covenanters. That the Reader may the better judge, we will see the doughty and irrefragable Arguments which gave the Advantage to *Cromwell*, and which the Doctor seems to admire, *p.* 42. *They began in a heavy languid Style to lay indeed great Load on the King; but they still insisted on that Clause in the Covenant, by which they swore that they would be faithful in the Preservation of his Majesty's Person. Upon this they shew'd upon what Terms*, Scotland, *as well as the two Houses, had engag'd in the War, and what solemn Declarations of their Zeal and Duty to the King they all aloug publish'd, which would now appear, to the Scandal and Reproach of the Christian Name, to have been false Pretences, if when the King was in their Power, they should proceed to Extremities. Upon this* Cromwell *enter'd into a long Discourse upon the Nature of Regal Power, according to the Principles of* Mariana *and* Buchanan; *he thought a Breach of Trust in a King ought to be punish'd more than any other Crime*

whatſoever. He ſaid, as to the Covenant, *they ſwore to the Preſervation of the King's Perſon, in Defence of the true Religion: If then it appear'd that the Settlement of the true Religion was obſtructed by the King, ſo that they could not come at it, but by putting him out of the way, then the Oath could not blind them to the preſerving him any longer. He ſaid alſo, that the* Covenant *did bind them to bring all Malignants, Incendiaries, and Enemies to the Cauſe, to condign Puniſhment: And was not this to be executed impartially? What were all thoſe on whom publick Juſtice had been done, eſpecially thoſe who ſuffer'd for joining of* Montroſs, *but ſmall Offenders acting by Commiſſion from the King, who was therefore the Principal, and ſo the moſt guilty?* Drumond *ſaid,* Cromwell *had the better of them at their own Weapons, and upon their own Principles.* The Author was no doubt of Mr. *Drumond*'s Opinion, or elſe he would have taken notice of the wretched Sophiſtry of theſe Arguments, which, weak and unconcluſive as they are, ſeem ſtill to be better than any thing that I yet ever ſaw of *Cromwell*'s, whoſe Speeches are dark and unintelligible, with very ill Grammar, and often worſe Senſe. We will therefore conclude that they are the Author's own; and I am very glad to find they are no better. But notwithſtanding he gives the Advantage to

Crom-

Cromwell, we will examine a little whether or no with Juſtice. Tho' he has thought fit to produce no other Arguments on the Commiſſioners Side, but the Obligation of their Oath in the *Covenant* ; that alone was ſufficient to reſtrain them from offering any Violence to the King's Perſon, whom they had ſo ſolemnly ſworn to defend, and which Promiſe could not be eluded without the vileſt Hypocriſy and manifeſt Perjury. But as for *Cromwell*'s Argument, that they could not come at the Settlement of the true Religion, but by putting the King out of the way, if it were right, as to Reaſon and Juſtice, it is falſe in Fact ; for the King had juſt before, in the Treaty at the *Iſle of Wight*, conſented to eſtabliſh Presbytery even in *England*, and would have done the ſame with leſs Reluctance in *Scotland*, where they had been us'd before to that Sort of Church Government. As for the Principles drawn from *Buchanan* and *Mariana*, they have been confuted by the Voice of God and Man, and ſo often baffled by all ſorts of Writers, Lawyers, as well as Divines, that there is no need of medling with that Subject ; yet this way of Reaſoning, abſurd and fallacious as it is, ſeems to tickle our Author, who might have ſeen into the Weakneſs of theſe Arguments ; but he could not extinguiſh firſt Principles, and diveſt himſelf of thoſe Prejudices, which he had ſuck'd in with his Mother's Milk ;

ſo difficult it is, when the Biaſs is ſtrong, not to let our Reaſon and Judgment be carried away, by the Torrent of Inclination.

THE Author proceeds in the Affairs of *Scotland*, where at this time, by his own Account, there reign'd ſuch a Spirit of Enthuſiaſm and Faction in the Preachers, as to leave it doubtful, whether the Inſolence of the Miniſters, or the Tameneſs of the State in ſuffering ſuch Indignities, were greater. And now he brings CHARLES I. to the laſt Scene of his Life, in which there was ſomewhat ſo chriſtian, ſo heroick, ſo beyond all Example ſurprizing, as to extort, even from the Diſingenuity of the Author, a Confeſſion of that Greatneſs in the Man, which he had all along before deny'd to the Character of the Prince. I muſt be ſo juſt to the Biſhop, as to obſerve that he has treated Archbiſhop *Laud*, and my Lord *Strafford*, when in the ſame Circumſtances, with the ſame Generoſity. My Lord *Montroſs* alſo taſted a little of his Favour only by being hang'd; as if the Pleaſure and Satisfaction of having brought his Enemies to the Gallows, had vanquiſh'd his Spleen, and put him enough in good Humour to do a little Juſtice at laſt. All this is the Effect of his Cunning, and not from any Goodneſs in his Nature, by this diſſembled Air of Impartiality, to make his Reader the more

eaſily believe all he has ſaid to their Prejudice before.

THE Arrival of CHARLES II. in *Scotland*, after the Treaty of *Breda*, has given the Author an Opportunity to paint the Covenanters in their proper Colours; but what is ſurprizing, is, after the unaccountable Treatment of that Prince among them, even by his own Confeſſion, that he ſhould afterwards blame and be angry with him, for having no very great Kindneſs for a ſort of Men, who had loaded him with ſo many Indignities. And what is ſtill more inconſiſtent, is, that the very ſame Perſons, whom in their publick Capacity, and by their Actions, he has made unworthy the Name of Men, when he comes to give their particular Characters, are all his Saints and his Heroes.

THE Author having now buried the King, the Monarchy, and the Church, proceeds to the Funeral of his own Country, which he ſeems to mention not only with Unconcern, but a Pleaſure very unbecoming a *Scotſman*, *p.* 61. *There was a conſiderable Force of about* 7 *or* 8000 *Men kept in* Scotland: *Thoſe were paid exactly, and ſtrictly diſciplin'd. The Pay of the Army brought ſo much Money into the Kingdom, that it continued all that while in a very flouriſhing*

State. Cromwell *built three Citadels, at* Leith, Air, *and* Inverneſs, *beſides many little Forts. There was good Juſtice done, and Vice was ſuppreſs'd and puniſh'd. So that we always reckon thoſe eight Years of Uſurpation a Time of great Peace and Proſperity.* This is the Account which the Doctor gives, with ſo much cool Blood, of his Country's being ſubdu'd by their ancient and hereditary Enemy, different in every thing but Language, in Laws, Cuſtoms, and Religion; for the Presbyterians of *Scotland*, had as much Averſion to the Anabaptiſts, Independents, and other Sectaries, who were their Maſters, and bore the Sway at this time in *England*, as they had to the Church of that Name. What a ſtrange Idea would the Author give us of the Poverty of his Country, as to make ſo wretched an Equivalent, as the Pay of 8000 Men ſpent among them, compenſate for the Loſs of the greateſt of Bleſſings, that of Liberty? That *Scotland* was as abſolutely reduc'd at this time, as ever any one Nation was conquer'd by another, is paſt Diſpute; Forts and Citadels built to bridle and reſtrain them, with all other Marks of Servitude and Slavery. In ſuch a melancholy Situation, can we poſſibly conceive that the *Scotch* Nation, let the Lenity of the Conqueror be never ſo great, could be ſo abandon'd to all Senſe of Shame, as

not

not to feel the Weight of thoſe Chains which they could not break? Was the Loſs of their Monarchy, boaſted the moſt ancient in Chriſtendom, their entire Conſtitution and Independence, no Evil? This he calls a flouriſhing Condition, to be ſubject to their Fellow-Subjects, under the Confuſion and Anarchy which reign'd at this time in the Government of *England*; while ſo ancient a Nobility, perhaps the moſt illuſtrious in *Europe*, had the Honour to be Vaſſals to to Draymen and Coblers: This he calls a Time of great Peace and Proſperity. As nothing is great or little, good or bad, but when compar'd with another; ſo it is the Change of Condition that makes the Miſery; the Thought of the preſent, with Reflection on the paſt. This was the State of *Scotland* at this time, who could not without Sighs look back on her ancient Glory, and remember her noble Progenitors, who made ſo conſiderable a Figure in the World, were courted by foreign Alliances, even the greateſt in Chriſtendom; who for ſo many Ages defended their Freedom; and, under all the Diſadvantages of Climate, Soil, and Situation, without any other Fund but their perſonal Valour and Virtue, reſiſted ſo long the Riches and Power of *England*; who, tho' over-run for a time, always recover'd their Loſſes at laſt; and in their Turn not only repell'd, but often defeated, purſu'd,

purſu'd, and at his own Door inſulted the inſolent Victor. I will ſay no more, but leave him to the Correction of his own Country-men, who, if they have any of that old and generous Blood in their Veins, will find it all fluſh in their Cheeks, and feel a Pulſation in every Artery at the mention of ſuch a Reproach.

P. 64. he firſt mentions Doctor *Sharp*, afterward Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*. Againſt this reverend and worthy Prelate, the Author ſeems to have a moſt inveterate and implacable Malice; for he treats him all along, not only with the laſt Injuſtice, but Fury; in Violation of that Humility which is eſſential to a good Clergyman, the good Manners inſeparable from a Gentleman, and that Charity ſo abſolutely neceſſary to every Chriſtian. Of this great and good Man, he tells us a ſecond-hand ſcandalous Story, which he pretends to have from Biſhop *Wilkins, p.* 64. *Upon this* Wilkins *ſpoke to* Sharp, *that it was plain by their Breach, that Presbytery could not be manag'd ſo as to maintain Order among them, and that an Epiſcopacy muſt be brought in to ſettle them; but* Sharp *could not bear the Diſcourſe, and rejected it with Horror.* Here is another hearſay Evidence, which no Man can contradict to a Confutation without raiſing the Dead. This is ſuch an Invention in Wri-

ting,

ting, as will ſap the Foundation of all Credit, and open a Door to a Torrent of Scandal, whenever an Author, under no Reſtraint of Honour and Conſcience, will let looſe the Reins to his Malice, and follow the Dictates of his reigning Paſſion. This is a Method as much againſt the Laws of Hiſtory, after this manner to aſſaſſinate a Man's Reputation, where there can be no Defence, as Dark-lanthorns and Stilettoes are unlawful Weapons to attack his Perſon. In this Caſe there is nothing to be done, but to refer the Reader to the general Character of the Man, and fairly leave him to his own Opinion, whether he will believe the Accuſer, or the accuſed. Dr. *Sharp* liv'd in a time when Epiſcopacy was depos'd, and Presbytery the reigning and eſtabliſh'd Religion in *Scotland*, which is an excuſe for being of that Miniſtry, tho', in his Judgment, it is more than probable, that he had a better Opinion of the old primitive Government of the Church. As the Kirk then was divided into two Factions, he choſe the Party of the Reſolutioners, which were the more moderate Men, and not diſaffected to the King and regal Government; whereas the Proteſters were in a ſtrict Alliance with the republican Sectaries in *England*. This makes it improbable, that Dr. *Sharp*, who was a Royaliſt in his Heart, ſhould have ſuch an Averſion to an Order,

of

of which he was afterwards ſo great an Ornament, as well as Support, and who could not but know, that the Crown and the Mitre were ſo interwoven as always to ſupport one another. The Caſe being thus, if Dr. *Sharp* was innocent of what is laid to his Charge, which is more than probable, the Scandal muſt lie between Dr. *Burnet* and Dr. *Wilkins*; but the laſt being *rectus in Curia*, is to be preferr'd in the good Opinion of the World before the other, whom we have already ſo often convicted of wilful Untruth. Beſides, if the thing were true, there are ſome Grains of Allowance for human Prudence, in not being too open before a Man, who had married the Siſter of *Oliver Cromwell.*

After having ſhew'd ſome Diſſatisfaction, that *Cromwell* refus'd the Kingſhip, becauſe our Author believ'd that it would eternally have ſhut the Door againſt any Hope of a Reſtoration, he falls foul upon the Cavaliers, whom he ſeems to charge with Hypocriſy, for ſtriking in with the Republican Party againſt that Uſurper, *p.* 79. *They were then all zealous Commonwealth Men, according to the Directions ſent them from thoſe about the King. Their Buſineſs was to oppoſe* Cromwell *on all his Demands; and ſo to weaken him at home, and expoſe him abroad. When ſome of the*

the other Party took notice of this great Change, from being the Abettors of Prerogative to become the Patrons of Liberty, they pretended their Education in the Court, and their Obligation to it had engag'd them that way; but now since that was out of Doors, they had the common Principles of humane Nature and the Love of Liberty. By this means, as the old Republicans assisted and protected them, so at the same time they strengthen'd the Faction against Cromwell. *But these very Men at the Restoration shook off this Disguise, and reverted to their old Principles, for a high Prerogative and absolute Power: They said they were for Liberty, when it was a Mean to distress one who they thought had no Right to govern; but when the Government return'd to its old Channel, they were still as firm to all prerogative Notions, and as great Enemies to Liberty as ever.*

HERE the Author, under a Colour of reflecting on the Cavaliers, has pull'd off the Mask, and plainly shew'd us his Principles: He calls being a Republican, to have the Principles of human Nature; and makes the Prerogative of the Crown and the Liberties of the People, inconsistent in themselves. But if the Doctor, with the same Application, had studied our own Constitution, as well as that of *Geneva* and *Switzerland*, he might

might have ſeen, without Spectacles, the Bounds which the Laws have ſet to both; and that the ſame Authority or Sanction, which gives the People their Right, entitles the King to his. So that without any Contradiction, the Cavaliers might have retain'd the Principles of human Nature with a Love of Liberty, and at the ſame time have aſſerted the King's juſt and legal Prerogative. By this it is plain, that the Biſhop of *Salisbury* was no more a Friend to the Monarchy, to the Conſtitution in the State, than in the Church of *England*.

THIS was certainly a very innocent Diſſimulation; and if the Author had never been guilty of a worſe, he would not have had Mankind in Arms againſt him to detect his Forgeries. Nothing can be more unreaſonable, than to call the Conduct of the Cavaliers in this Point Hypocriſy and Prevarication, the making uſe of one Tyrant to deſtroy another; as if an honeſt Man being robb'd by two Thieves, who ſhould quarrel in ſharing the Booty, were not at Liberty to take Part with the one, in order to deſtroy and recover his Money from both. The Caſes are ſo parallel, as muſt convince the Reader that our good Author ſometimes nods, and is often as weak, as he is always malicious.

FROM

FROM abuſing the honeſt Party in *England*, he proceeds to a national Reflection, in which he ſhews as much Ignorance, as Injuſtice. Speaking of the *Iriſh* who follow'd the Fortunes of King CHARLES II. in Exile, he ſays thus, *p.* 73. *They alſo ſettled a Pay for ſuch of the Subjects of the three Kingdoms as would come and ſerve under our Princes; but few came, except from* Ireland. *Of theſe ſome Regiments were form'd; but tho' this gave them a great and laſting Intereſt in our Court, eſpecially in King* JAMES's, *they did not much deſerve it.* Here the Author would run the Riſque of being rather thought ignorant, than not gratify his Malice; for if he had read the Hiſtory of thoſe Wars in *Flanders*, he would have found that thoſe very *Iriſh* Troops ſo diſtinguiſh'd themſelves, as to acquire a very great Reputation abroad, eſpecially in the *Spaniſh* Service.

P. 77, he tells us ſeveral Stories which he had from one *Stoupe*, a *Swiſs*, who ſeems to have furniſh'd the Author with moſt of his Intelligences relating to theſe Times. Among others, he gives you a long Detail of a Plot, how an *Iriſhman* was ſent over from *Flanders* to aſſaſſinate *Cromwell*; and that he lodg'd in *King-ſtreet*, *Weſtminſter*; but that *Thurloe* deſpis'd the Intelligence, and would

would not ſo much as ſearch for the Man. P. 77. *A few Weeks after,* Syndercomb's *Deſign of aſſaſſinating* Cromwell *near* Brentford, *as he was going to* Hampton-Court, *was diſcover'd. When he was examin'd, it appear'd that he was the Perſon ſet out in the Letters from* Bruſſels. *So* Liſle *ſaid to* Cromwell, *this is the very Man of whom* Stoupe *had the Notice given him.* Either *Stoupe* impos'd on the Author, or elſe the Author miſtook this Plot for ſome other. or invented the Story himſelf; for the Account which he has given cannot be true, In the firſt place, *Miles Syndercomb* was no *Iriſhman,* being born at *Baſingſtoke* in *Hampſhire:* He was never in *Flanders,* but was broke in *Scotland,* and turn'd out of the Army for Diſaffection to *Cromwell:* He was an Anabaptiſt by Profeſſion, a zealous Sectary, and a mortal Enemy to the King and monarchical Government: His Quarrel to *Cromwell,* was his having depos'd the *Rump,* and uſurp'd the Power in a ſingle Perſon. How all this agrees with the Author's Account, of an *Iriſhman* ſent over by the Cavaliers from *Flanders,* let the Reader judge. As in this Affair the Author has no Intereſt to ſerve, no Malice or Paſſion to gratify, we will for once have the Charity, to believe that he was only miſtaken, without any wilful Deſign of perverting the Truth. As this

The Miſtake of this immaterial Circumſtance in Stoupe's Narration is not in the Book.

Story

Story is a Matter of no Conſequence, I have only mention'd it, to ſhew how little we can depend on his hearſay Narrative, which he takes upon Truſt, often charges the Circumſtances on his Memory, which being ſometimes deficient, he ſupplies the reſt with his own fruitful Invention, and patches a Story together only to amuſe his Reader.

After this, he concludes the Hiſtory of *Cromwell*'s Reign with too favourable Sentiments for that Uſurper, whoſe true Character has been often given with more Integrity by juſter Hiſtorians, ſo as to leave it an unneceſſary Task to diſabuſe the Reader. I ſhall only therefore take notice of one Quality which he gives him: This is his Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion; of which we muſt ſay, that the Author did not well conſider, that he made no great Compliment to any Religion by giving it no better a Patron. In the firſt Place, we may affirm, that if he did not counterfeit his Enthuſiaſm, he was a Madman; and if it was all fictitious, only to ſerve his Ends, he muſt not only be a Knave and a Hypocrite, but a downright Atheiſt: So that after all, it will be very difficult to conceive, that ſo wicked a Man ſhould really, at bottom, have more Concern for one Denomination of Chriſtians than another;

for if we may judge of Men by their Actions, he ſeems as well to have extinguiſh'd all Light of natural Religion, as to have ſet at Defiance, and trampled under foot the very Moral and Precepts of reveal'd.

He finiſhes this Scene of *Cromwell*, by telling us how formidable he was to his Neighbours abroad. This he does not only to do Honour to that favourite Tyrant, but to leſſen the Character, and give a mean Opinion of King Charles II. Upon this Account, he tells the following Story: That King Charles upbraiding *Borel*, the *Dutch* Embaſſador, with his Maſters harbouring the *Engliſh* Rebels in their Country, was anſwer'd, that it was a Maxim of their State, to protect all who fled to them. Upon this, the King with ſome Emotion told him, how in that Reſpect they had us'd himſelf and his Brothers, at the Inſtance of *Cromwell*. Upon which, the poor ſimple *Dutch* Man reply'd, *p.* 81. " Ah Sire! c'etoit une autre choſe; " *Cromwell* etoit un Grand Homme, & " il ſe faiſoit craindre & par Terre & par " Mer. *This was rough. The King's Anſwer* " *was*, Je me ferai craindre auſſi a mon " Tour. *But he was ſcarce ſo good as his* " *Word.*" This is a ſly and invidious Reflection on the Weakneſs of King Charles. But the Author very well knew the true Rea-

Reaſon why that Prince was not as good as his Word upon that Occaſion: This was owing to the Friends of the good Biſhop, who rais'd ſuch a Clamour againſt the *Dutch* War, encourag'd the Enemy by their Seditions at home, conſtantly gave them Intelligence, and with *Engliſh* Pilots conducted them into our Harbours, to burn and deſtroy the Fleet of their own Country. Such is the Inconſiſtency of this Man, who has all along condemn'd the Court of *England* for making that War at all, tho' now he lays hold on this Occaſion to inſult King CHARLES, and render him little, for not making his Enemies leſs. He now ridicules him for not humbling that Commonwealth, by reducing their naval Power, and deſtroying their Fleets, when another time he condemns him for taking one of their Buſſes.

The Injuſtice of
2d Dutch War. in
complains of by
Kings own Min
ſee Temple's

AND now he approaches the Reſtoration, a Bleſſing that ſticks in his Gizzard, at which not daring openly to repine, he vents all his Spleen on the happy Inſtrument of that glorious Revolution; for after having enumerated all the previous Steps that were taken in that Affair, the Conduct and Management of which he very much magnifies, without naming the only Perſon who could poſſibly have concerted thoſe Matters, at laſt he plainly tells

us, *p.* 87. *This was manag'd with great Diligence and Skill, and by this Conduct it was that the great Turn was brought about without the leaſt Tumult or Bloodſhed, which was beyond what any Perſon could have imagin'd. Of all this* Monk *had both the Praiſe and the Reward, tho' I have been told a very ſmall Share of it belong'd to him.* The Diſingenuity, Partiality, and Malice of this Aſſertion are ſo very viſible, that I need not take any Pains to convince the Reader; every Man in *England*, who can read, is a competent Judge of this Matter. For farther Satisfaction, I refer him to the Life of that great Man lately publiſh'd. This is ſo very abſurd, that the Author might as well have deny'd that there ever was ſuch a Man as General *Monk*, as to ſay that he was not the immediate Inſtrument in the Reſtoration. I ſhall only juſt tell the Reader, that the very Nature of the thing beſpeaks itſelf; for, as it was the Army that was the only Obſtacle to the Nation's Settlement and Happineſs, there was nothing to be done, but, by modelling that Body of Men, make them ſubſervient to thoſe very Ends which none beſides themſelves could impeach. This was manag'd with ſo great Addreſs and Prudence in *Scotland*, that the Sectaries, and rigid Republicans, were by degrees caſhier'd, and more moderate

erate Men ſubſtituted in their Places. This could be done by none but the General himſelf, who had at that time the abſolute Command in *Scotland*. This enabled that great Man to march into *England*, and to purſue his Deſign of making the military Power ſubſervient to the Civil, a Declararation ſo plauſible and popular, as to meet with univerſal Reception. His Addreſs afterwards, in perſwading the Rump Parliament to diſlodge the diſaffected Troops at *London*, and ſend them into remoter Quarters, to make room for his own, on whom he could depend, enabled him to execute any Deſign he might have afterwards. No Body can imagine that at this time, notwithſtanding his conſtant Affection to the King, and the good Blood in his Veins, that he could be ſo ſanguine as to entertain any great Hopes, or form any Deſign of a Reſtoration. However, by theſe previous Methods he had put himſelf into a Condition, upon the unexpected Incidents which fell out afterward, to ſtrike in with the Torrent of the people's Inclinations, and gratify his own, by compaſſing that ſtupendous Change, of which we have ſeen the illuſtrious Author treated with ſuch baſe Ingratitude, by the moſt unjuſt and partial of Writers, who had too mortal an Averſion to the King, and the royal Family, ever to

forgive the propitious Inſtrument of their Reſtoration.

THE Author could not but have conſider'd, that without this great Event he had never been Biſhop of *Salisbury*. As this Reflection is ſo obvious, it is very plain that his Malice and Reſentment were the ſtrongeſt of his Paſſions, ſo as, when it came to a Competition, even to tranſcend his Ambition and Avarice. If the Reſtoration had not happen'd, the Author would have had leſs Guilt with leſs Preferment. A more obſcure and meaner Scene of Life, a Country Cure of 8 or 900 Marks *per Annum* in *Scotland*, could not have furniſh'd him with Opportunity and Materials to have done much Miſchief: The making Feuds in ſo narrow a Circle as private Families; or, at moſt, now and then ſetting a General-Aſſembly together by the Ears, would have been the higheſt Stretch of his Ambition and Politicks. As this would have been all that he could poſſibly have done in ſuch Circumſtances, to have gratify'd his turbulent Temper, it would have been leſs fatal than what we have ſeen him perform; his blowing the Coals of Sedition in the Reign of King CHARLES II. his intriguing in Courts, and diſturbing the publick Repoſe of Nations.

BEFORE

BEFORE he comes to the Restoration, he would give us an Account why the Republicans and Sectaries, at this Crisis, made so little Opposition to a Turn of State which must infallibly be their Ruin: Of which he says thus, *p.* 87. "*Enthusiasm was now languid; for that owing its mechanical Force to the Liveliness of the Blood and Spirits, Men in Disorder, and depress'd, could not raise in themselves those Heats with which they were wont to transport both themselves and others.* If this Philosophy be true, I would ask one Question, why the *French* Prophets in our Days, and his own mad Countrymen in Forty-one, when they had some extraordinary Gambols to play in the Pulpit, to heighten their Enthusiasm, and to enable them to shew a greater Effusion of Spirit, always prepar'd th eir Bodies by fasting, which must depauperate the Blood, and consequently lessen the Quantity of Spirits? The constant Success of this Method at that Time seems to contradict the learned Author's mechanical Solution of Enthusiasm.

HE is very angry that King CHARLES was not bound Hand and Foot, *p.* 88. *Such Unanimity appear'd in their Proceedings, that there was not the least Dispute among them, but upon one single*

Point; yet that was a very important one. Hale, *afterwards the famous Chief Juſtice, mov'd that a Committee might be appointed to look into the Propoſitions that had been made, and the Conceſſions that had been offer'd by the late King, during the War, particularly at the Treaty of* Newport; *that from thence they might digeſt ſuch Propoſitions as they ſhould think fit to be ſent over to the King.* In the next Page, he ſays, *to the King's coming in without Conditions, may be well imputed all the Errors of his Reign.* It is no Wonder that this Propoſal ſhould come from a Perſon, who, with all his Sanctity made no Scruple to ſit as one of *Cromwell*'s Judges, and ſentence his Fellow-Subjects to Death, by a Commiſſion from a Tyrant, who had murder'd his Prince, and by Violence had made himſelf Maſter of his Country. But where was the Neceſſity of thus fettering CHARLES II. more than any of his Predeceſſors at their Acceſſion to the Throne? An Act of Oblivion having cover'd all that was paſt, at this time, the Caſe was the ſame, as if there never had been any Troubles, or Civil Wars, and the King had ſucceeded peaceably upon a natural Demiſe of his Father. If the Treaty at the *Iſle of Wight* was to have been the Baſis of the new *Pacta Conventa* with the King, he had better have ſtaid where he was,

and

and wanted a Dinner at *Brussels*, than have accepted a Crown on such wretched Conditions; Conditions so inhuman, as made little Difference between the Commissioners at *Newport*, and the King's Judges in *Westminster-Hall.* The first would have stript him of every Prerogative, after they had rob'd him of what was more dear, his Honour and Conscience. The Regicides, indeed, acted more bare-fac'd, with greater Impudence, but less Hypocrisy. The one would have made him too wretched to live with common Comfort, while the other more kindly put an end to his Pain.

REMARKS

REMARKS

Hiſtorical and *Critical* :

BOOK II.

HE begins this Book with another Stroak at Dr. *Sharp*; no Pauſe or Interruption can make him forget his Malice. *P.* 92. *As ſoon as it was fix'd that the King was to be reſtor'd, a great many went over to make their Court. Among theſe,* Sharp, *who was employ'd by the Reſolutioners, was one.* P. ibid. *As he had obſerv'd very carefully the Succeſs of* Monk's *ſolemn Proteſtations againſt the King, and for a Commonwealth, it ſeems, he was ſo pleas'd with the Original, that he was reſolv'd to copy after it, without letting himſelf be diverted with Scruples; for he ſtuck neither at ſolemn Proteſtati-*

ons,

ons, both by Word of Mouth and by Letters (of which I have ſeen many Proofs) nor at Appeals to God of his Sincerity in acting for the Presbyterians, *both in Prayers, and on other Occaſions, joining with theſe many dreadful Imprecations on himſelf, if he prevaricated.*

HERE the Author lays about him like a Dragon, and kills two Birds with one Stone. This is a moſt terrible Charge of Hypocriſy, Diſſimulation, and Perjury, both on the General, and the Doctor. We will firſt put the Affair of General *Monk* in a true Light. If this great Man was the Villain which he repreſents, it muſt be for reſtoring the King; and conſequently the Action itſelf be evil. This he has not had the Aſſurance yet poſitively to affirm, except it is to be found in the Sheets, which the Prudence of his Executors have thought unfit to ſee the Light, notwithſtanding their Proteſtations to the Publick, that the Copy is perfect; a Piece of Diſingenuity which cannot be juſtified; for whatever they have ras'd, or omitted, ſince the Death of the Author, can be no Act of his, and conſequently the Copy not genuine. But to return from this Digreſſion: When General *Monk* came to *London*, the Parliament was under a Violence from the Army, who long before had ſecluded the greateſt and nobleſt Part of

N.B. This Charge is answered by no body beside

of their Members, whom they kept by Force from the Houſe; nor were they reſtrain'd within any Bounds of Duty and Submiſſion to the *Rump*, whom they had lately inſulted before. This had occaſion'd the General's March with his Troops from *Scotland*, according to his Declaration of making the Military Power ſubſervient to the Civil. On the Performance of this Promiſe, the ſecluded Members moſt ſtrenuouſly inſiſted, by urging that his Declaration could not be made good, but by their Re-admiſſion, who were the moſt conſiderable Part of the ſame Parliament, for whom he had declar'd, and had been ejected by a military Violence. Upon which, to put an End to theſe Confuſions, at the repeated Requeſts of the City, a Majority of the Parliament, the Nobility and Gentry; in ſhort, to comply with the Voice of the People, he conſented that the ſecluced Members ſhould take their Seats again; which was the only Method to reſtore the Dignity of Parliament, and the Face of an Houſe, whoſe Honour had been ſo proſtituted by the Violence and ill Conduct of the *Rump*, who were now grown ſo very ſcandalous, that they were not more hated, than univerſally deſpis'd by the People. The ſecluded Members diſſolv'd themſelves, after having iſſu'd out Writs to call a Convention, which Convention reſtor'd the King

and

and the ancient Government. Now after this, where was the great Treachery in General *Monk*, who obey'd them as long as they had the Power, even in their moſt violent Commands? After they had by a voluntary Act determin'd their own Authority, there was an End of the Commonwealth. So that the General, as well as others, was at an intire Liberty to enter into any new Scheme in the following Convention, which might be moſt conducive to the publick Good, and the Inclinations of the People. As to his Tranſactions with the King and his Friends, they were all negotiated, after that the Perſons, to whom he could poſſibly lye under any ſeeming Obligation of Fidelity on Account of his Commiſſion, had voluntarily diveſted themſelves of their Power, and were now no more. All theſe ſcandalous Inſinuations of General *Monk*, he has borrow'd from *Ludlow*'s Memoirs: Never were two Hiſtorians better match'd than *Burnet* and *Ludlow*, that Miſcreant who declares it an Honour to have been one of the King's Judges.

We will now return to Dr. *Sharp*, againſt whom the Author's Invectives are equally unjuſt. It is true, he was a *Presbyterian*, when there was no better a Religion in his Country, and an Agent to the

the moderate Party of that Perſuaſion, to whom he was faithful, while he was employ'd and intruſted by them; but it does not follow from thence, that a Man may not change his Opinion about Church-Government: But he betray'd no Body; for in the Year 1660, long before Epiſcopacy was reſettled in *Scotland*, he had quitted his Agency, reſign'd his Truſt, and had no more to do with them: So that he was free, when the Legiſlature thought fit to change the Government of the Church, to accept a Biſhoprick, which Truſt he diſcharg'd with Honour and Fidelity, with a Piety not inferior to the Dignity of his Station, which he eminently fill'd, adorn'd, and ſupported by a zealous Attachment to the Service of thoſe Altars he had ſworn to defend.

If the Reader would ſee the Reverſe of this Picture, let him look upon the Author, who has thus revil'd this good Prelate. This unhappy Man, tho' a *Presbyterian* in his Heart, if of any Religion, accepted a Biſhoprick, without ever changing his Principles or Opinion, and made no Scruple of Conſcience to enjoy the Revenues of that Church, whoſe Diſcipline he diſlik'd, whoſe Faith he oppungn'd, whoſe Intereſts he would have betray'd, and given up to her Schiſmaticks, while at the ſame time he was eating her Bread. This is the Man, who

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is ſo very angry with Dr. *Sharp*, for accepting the Arch-Biſhoprick of St. *Andrews*. If ſuch a Change ſhould have happen'd in *England*; if the Legiſlature ſhould have thought fit, in his Time, to have reduc'd the Form and Diſcipline of the Church of *England* to that of *Geneva*, there is no Body can doubt, but he would ſoon have forgot his tall *Steeple* at *Salisbury*; and, allowing the ſame Revenue, with greater Pleaſure and Vehemence have thump'd a Cuſhion in that Congregation, we now call a Conventicle.

The Biſhop has no ſooner open'd the Scene of the Reſtoration, which he calls auguſt and ſplendid, but he immediately ſpoils his Compliment, by endeavouring to paint thoſe happy Days in the blackeſt Colours: He furiouſly falls foul on the Licentiouſneſs of the Court, which, he ſays, open'd a Door to all Impiety and Irreligion; *P. 92. With the Reſtoration of the King, a Spirit of extravagant Joy ſpread over the Nation, that brought on with it the throwing off the very Profeſſions of Virtue and Piety: All ended in Entertainments and Drunkenneſs, which over-run the three Kingdoms to ſuch a Degree, that it very much corrupted all their Morals. Under the Colour of drinking the King's Health, there were great Diſorders, and much*

much Riot every where. And the Pretences of Religion, both in those of the hypocritical Sort, and of the more honest, but no less pernicious Enthusiasts, gave great Advantages, as well as they furnish'd much Matter, to the prophane Mockers of true Piety. Those, who had been concern'd in the former Transactions, thought they could not redeem themselves from the Censures and Jealousies that those brought on them, by any Method, that was more sure and more easy, than by going into the Stream, and laughing at all Religion; telling or making Stories to expose both themselves and their Party as impious and ridiculous.

In this malicious Paragraph, the Author gives us another Sketch of his Knowledge. If he had read our Histories, he would have found that Drunkenness was no new Vice in *England* at the Restoration, but much more common among our Ancestors than ourselves, being introduc'd by the *Danes*, who first debauch'd the *Saxons*, till that Time, in respect to Drinking, a temperate People. The *Normans*, who had liv'd a little nearer the Sun, gave a Check for a Time to this ill Habit; but being so few in Number, they soon became *English*, and contracted this National Vice of Drinking. This was increas'd by the Manner of Living: The universal Hospitality and open House-keeping, in which the

whole

whole Income of their Eſtates was ſpent on their Tables, muſt put them under a more frequent Temptation of Sotting, and furniſh a conſtant Scene of Intemperance; while the Nobility and Gentry, who always liv'd in the Country, for want of Books and Learning in thoſe Ages, had no other Amuſements but their Hawks and Hounds, which Diverſions too frequently end in a hearty Debauch. This continued to the Time of King CHARLES I. when that excellent Prince, who was a Pattern of Temperance himſelf, endeavour'd by his Example and Countenance to cultivate that Virtue in his People; to which end, he introduc'd firſt into *England*, a Love of the nobler Sciences, Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and Muſick; by which more refin'd Amuſements he endeavour'd to poliſh his Subjects, and give them a finer Taſte of more innocent and delicate Pleaſures; in order to which, he had made a noble Collection of Paintings, Statues, *&c.* Theſe Curioſities, after the Murder of that good King, were ſold, by his Hangmen, to all the Princes of *Europe;* while theſe ſower and moroſe Fanatics, as they were Enemies to every thing that was generous, deſtroy'd with the King all innocent Diverſions, and introduc'd a Phariſaical Reformation of Manners, which was all at the Bottom, Grimace and Hypocriſy; for

the Saints, tho' they would not openly drink, always were thirſty when alone in a Corner; nor made they leſs Scruple in private to embrace the Woman, whom they would not ſalute in publick. During the Reign of theſe ſanctified Hypocrites, there was a counterfeit Air of Sobriety, the Loſs of which our Author laments, and is ſo unreaſonably peeviſh, as to blame the poor Cavaliers for being tranſported with Joy, at their Redemption from a Slavery of nineteen Years, more cruel than an *Egyptian* Bondage: But it is no Wonder, that he repin'd at the Joy of others for a Bleſſing, in which the poor Man himſelf had no Share, for want of good Principles; and conſequently took no Part.

THE Irreligion and Impiety, of which he pretends to complain, muſt be aſcrib'd to deeper Cauſes. There is no doubt but the Hypocriſy of the preceding Times, in which the Pulpit was ſo proſtituted, and the moſt villainous Actions cover'd over with the Veil of Piety, had ſtartled ſome People, and given Impreſſions very diſadvantagious to the Cauſe of Religion; for it is certain, that the Conduct of our ſpiritual Guides has the moſt extended Influence; the ill Example of one bad Clergyman will do more Miſchief than a thouſand Sermons can repair: And I firmly believe,

lieve, if ſuch a thing could be prov'd, that the perſonal Conduct of our very Author, thro, the whole Train of his Life, not to mention his late dreadful Appeal to God Almighty, has ſhock'd the Faith of more People, and given a greater Blow to Religion, than any ten Men in *England* beſides. His preaching and unpreaching the ſame Doctrines, as his Intereſt guided; his frequent Change of Sides; his abject Flattery of the Living, and his outrageous abuſing the ſame Men when dead, muſt make one conclude, that he had no great Senſe of Religion. Such an Example on weak Minds, who may have an Opinion of the Man, will make very great Impreſſions, while the Vices of the moſt diſſolute Courts as they are natural to Fleſh and Blood, and only gratify our Senſes, affect more the Manners and Conduct of Life, than the Faith and Reaſon of Men, in the ſpeculative Points of Religion.

He now proceeds to the Character of Charles II. which is not more abſurd than ridiculous, ſo as to make the Reader, tho' it was otherwiſe meant, rather laugh than be angry. *P. 93. The King was then thirty Years of Age, and, as might have been ſuppos'd, paſt the Levities of Youth, and the Extravagance of Pleaſure. He had a very good Underſtanding; he knew*

well the State of Affairs both at home and abroad; he had a ſoftneſs of Temper, which charm'd all that came near him, till they found how little they could depend on good Looks and fair Promiſes, in which he was liberal to exceſs; becauſe he intended nothing by them, but to get rid of Importunities, and ſilence all further upon him. He ſeem'd to have no Senſe of Religion, both at Prayers and Sacrament; he, as it were, took care to ſatisfy People he was in no ſort concern'd in that about which he was employ'd: So that he was far from being an Hypocrite, unleſs his aſſiſting at thoſe Performances was a ſort of Hypocriſy; (as no doubt it was) but he was ſure not to increaſe that by any Appearance of Religion. He ſaid once to myſelf, that he was no Atheiſt; but he could not think that God would make a Man miſerable for taking a little Pleaſure out of the way. He diſguiſed his Popery to the laſt. He often ſaid, he thought Government was a much eaſier thing where the Authority was thought infallible, and the Faith and Submiſſion of the People was implicit. He underſtood Navigation well; but, above all, knew the Architecture of Ships ſo perfectly, that in that reſpect, he was exact more than became a Prince. Here are in this Character almoſt as many Inconſiſtencies as Lines. The Weakneſs and greateſt Vice of King

CHARLES

CHARLES, is known to be his Love of Women; he was now in the Meridian of his Life, in the Flower of his Age, Strength, and Vigour, when the Doctor declares him to be too old not to be paſt thoſe Pleaſures. This Suggeſtion is ſtranger in coming from our Author, than any other ordinary Man; it being generally known, that Dr. *Burnet* himſelf had ſo good a Conſtitution, as to retain his Greenneſs and Vigour to double that Age; and if Fame is no Liar in that reſpect, kept ſtill a Colt's Tooth, with the Mark in his Mouth, beyond his great Climacterick. The next Inconſiſtency is equally remarkable. He ſays, that this Prince was liberal to exceſs of his Promiſes, to get rid of Importunities, and ſilence all farther preſſing upon him. This is the oddeſt way of attaining that End, as I believe, was ever yet known: I ſhould rather have thought, that a flat Denial at firſt, would have been a much better way to have prevented farther Importunity, than, by giving a Promiſe, entitle the Party to demand the Performance, and renew his Attacks the next Day. Tho' the Author ſeems to value himſelf upon writing Characters, as the fineſt Part of his Hiſtory, I muſt affirm to the contrary, it was none of his Talent. Inſtead of thoſe beautiful Antitheſes, *ſui profuſus, alieni appetens*, which we find in *Saluſt*, and ſome other of the Ancients; when he affects that way of writing,

for want of Judgment, and a diſtinguiſhing Knowledge of humane Nature, he often grows abſurd, and falls into Paradoxes and Self-contradictions. This is manifeſt in his Character of this King, whom he always repreſents in a different Light; in one Place makes him ſo lazy and indolent, as to prefer his Pleaſures to all other Regards; in another, ſo zealous for the Church of *Rome*, as to be ready to ſacrifice his own, and the Quiet of his People, to the Intereſt of that Religion; ſometimes an Atheiſt, with Popery in his Belly; and ſometimes a Bigot, with no Religion. When he tells us, that King CHARLES underſtood the building of Ships better than became a Prince, we can by no means agree with his Sentiments: The Knowledge of ſo noble a Branch of the Mathematicks, as the Conſtruction of Ships, which we call Naval Architecture, is no more below the greateſt of Kings, than Philoſophers; a Science, that would have added to the Wiſdom of *Solomon*; and, conſequently, not unbecoming a King of *England*, whoſe only true Greatneſs depends on his Fleets, and the Goodneſs of his Ships, as well as their Number. As for the Converſation between him and the King, if it be true, it is a certain Sign, that good-humour'd Prince, when he told him that he could not think God Almighty would make a Man miſerable for taking a little Pleaſure out of the way,

way, knew ſomething of our Author, and believ'd him inclin'd that way as well as himſelf; otherwiſe he was too well bred to have ſaid ſo ſhocking a thing to any Clergyman of known Piety, his *Sancrofts*, *Kens*, *Fells*, *&c.* or indeed to any Prieſt, whoſe Character deſerv'd to be treated with more Reſpect.

THERE are the ſame Inconſiſtencies in his other Characters, all which to diſprove would be endleſs, and ſwell the Bulk of this Volume to that of his own; ſince all are dead who could contradict and confute him, we muſt leave the Judgment of theſe Men to common Fame, and Tradition, which is much more authentick than any Affirmation of this Author. I ſhall therefore at preſent criticiſe no more, but do Juſtice to the Reputation of the Injur'd.

P. 98, he now falls foul again upon the Duke of *Albemarle*, to whom he gives no more Quarter, than to General *Monk*. He ſays, *He was ravenous, as well as his Wife, who was a mean contemptible Creature. They both ask'd and ſold all that was within their Reach, nothing being deny'd them for ſome time; till he became ſo uſeleſs, that little perſonal Regard could be paid him. But the King maintain'd ſtill the Appearances of it; for the Appearance of the Service*

he did him was ſuch, that the King thought it fit to treat him with great Diſtinction, even after he ſaw into him, and deſpiſed him. He took care to raiſe his Kinſman Greenvill, *who was made Earl of* Bath *and Groom of the Stole, a Man who thought of nothing but getting and ſpending Money.* Here the Author gives the Reins to his Fury; and, by a Superfetation of Malice, utters as many Untruths, as Sentences. How doth this Character agree with the known Story of this great Man, who abſolutely refuſed the unlimited Conditions offer'd by his Prince, when he had it in his Power to have impos'd what he pleas'd? How comes he to know that the Reſpect which was paid him was only Appearance? The King never told him ſo, nor any Body elſe; otherwiſe he would have produc'd his Author. If we can believe Dr. *Skinner*, a Perſon of irreproachable Credit, the King not only treated him with thoſe Marks of Diſtinction which Gratitude could inſpire, but with a kind of filial Reſpect to the very laſt.

The *Dutch* Wars, in which the Duke of *Albemarle* acquir'd ſo much Glory, ended not long before his Death: So that the King employ'd him in his Service to the laſt. And when he could pay no more Honours to the Living, teſtify'd his Veneration for the Dead, by giving him more than regal

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Obſequies, at which the whole Government, except himſelf, which the Dignity of his Rank would not permit, aſſiſted as Mourners. The Court, the Tribunals, and all Perſons of Diſtinction, in every Poſt, follow'd him to the Grave; and, with a magnificent Pomp of Sorrow, mixt his Aſhes with thoſe of Princes; nothing being more juſt, than that the Man, who had reſcu'd the Liberties, who had fixt the Repoſe of Nations, and reſtor'd the Monarchy of *England*, ſhould reſt himſelf at laſt in the Boſom of her Kings.

After this Uſage of the Duke of *Albemarle*, it is no great Wonder if he treats my Lord of *Bath* with the ſame ill Manners and Injuſtice. That Nobleman had too immediate a Hand in the Reſtoration, not to feel ſome Marks of the Author's Reſentment. But the Character he gives of him is as wrong as the Matter of Fact, when he ſays. *That* Monk *made the Fortune of his Kinſman* Greenvil. One might have thought that the Author, who was at Court at this time before he was ſeventeen Years of Age, might probably have heard, that Sir *John Granvil* had a Warrant in his Pocket, ſign'd at *Bruſſels*, to be made an Earl of *England*, Groom of the Stole, with a Penſion of 3000. *l. per Annum*, to indemnify his Family for the Debts contracted in the Service of the Crown,

Crown, ſome Months before that King CHARLES ever ſaw the Face of General *Monk*. By this Miſtake we may ſee how little we can rely on the Truth of what he ſays, even in Things of no great Conſequence: He ſeems to write at random; and, when he knows nothing of a Matter, ventures to ſay any thing: What his Ignorance cannot furniſh, his fertile Malice ſupplies.

AFTER having given the Characters of the Court in *England*, he proceeds to thoſe of the Miniſters in *Scotland*, whom he paints in ſuch Colours, as if he deſign'd to raiſe the Horror of his Reader; who will find, by what he ſays hereafter, an aſtoniſhing Account of his Country. By his own Deſcription, he makes the Presbyterians Enthuſiaſts and Madmen, irreclaimable by Mercy, and incorrigible by Juſtice. So that if the other Side, the Epiſcopal Party, and thoſe in the Adminiſtration, were ſuch Monſters and Tyrants as he repreſents them, he has not left room for one honeſt Man in the Country.

AMONG the Miniſters of *Scotland*, he treats his old Patron, Duke *Lauderdale*, to whom all the World believ'd that he ow'd great Obligations, with manifeſt Ingratitude and Barbarity, *p.* 101. *I knew him very particularly. He made a very ill Appearance; he*

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was very big; his Hair red, hanging odly about him; his Tongue was too big for his Mouth, which made him bedew all that he ſpoke to. Tho' this ſhould be true, it is mean and pitiful, below the Dignity of Hiſtory, to inſult a Man for perſonal Defects, which he cannot help, without an abſolute Neceſſity of illuſtrating ſome Event in the Story. But why ſhould we expect Generoſity in a Man, who wanted all other Virtues?

But in all his *Scotch* Characters, the Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews* bears the greateſt Load. The Reader is deſir'd to take notice, that tho' he mentions this Prelate five times more than any Man elſe, he never gives him his Title. He treats all others, whom he did not love, with the ſame Familiarity. As no Body would know the Perſon he calls *Sharp*, to be Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews*, if he was not otherwiſe inform'd; ſo the Duke of *Albemarle* is call'd plain *Monk* to his dying Day. But he uſes more Ceremony with his Friends. Always Earl of *Clarendon*, even before he was created; always Earl of *Eſſex*; always Lord *Ruſſel &c.* This being his conſtant Practice, it is impoſſible it ſhould proceed from Chance or Negligence. Tho' this is no capital Fault in the Hiſtorian, it is ſhocking to good Manners, and ſhews too much of the Clown in the Gentleman and the Prelate. I have only mentioned

I do not find y' this Observacon is right.

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ed this Matter, to let the World ſee the little Malice, and Meanneſs of Soul in the Man, who could not find in his Heart to treat his Superiors, when Enemies, with that common Reſpect which was due to their Quality.

P. 104. *I now turn to another Set of Men, of whom the Earls of* Middleton *and* Glencairn *were the chief. They were follow'd by the Herd of the Cavalier Carty, who were now very fierce, and full of Courage in their Cups, tho' they had been very diſcreet Managers of it in the Field, and in time of Action.* By this Reflection, the Reader may ſee how Diſingenuity is eſſential to his very Nature, ſo as never to let him ſpeak well, or do any manner of Juſtice to his Enemies. In this Aſſertion, the want of Judgment in the Man is as evident as his Malice, in affirming a thing, in which every one, he was ſure, muſt contradict him. The Victories of my Lord *Montroſs* were no leſs notorious than aſtoniſhing, and not to be parallel'd in Hiſtory. Without Garriſons, Magazines, Arms, Amunition, or Money, how often did that great Man moſt ſhamefully defeat the numerous Armies of the Covenanters, when they exceeded him above three to one, with all thoſe Advantages which he wanted? If this Succeſs was not owing to the perſonal Courage of his Troops, we muſt look for

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some hidden Cause, and renew the Belief of Miracles.

P. 134. he entertains us with a most wonderful Character of Bishop *Leighton*, as he has done in another Place with that of Sir *Robert Murray;* of both which Persons he gives us Ideas that seem a little Romantick. I am very much afraid there must be some Grains of Allowance for this good Bishop, whom all together he has made but an odd sort of a Man; tho' I am very apt to believe, that the Author has put some of his own Sentiments into his Mouth, when he makes him so dissatisfied with the Conduct of his Superiors, which is a little seditious, and unbecoming so mortify'd a Man: His Contempt of his Brethren, and Colleagues, was inconsistent with that true Humility so absolutely essential to the Saint, and must proceed from a spiritual Pride at the Bottom of the Heart; for no Man has a mean Opinion of another, but from a firm Belief of a superior Merit in himself. But it is Pity to spoil these imaginary Pieces; so I will only congratulate our Island, in having the Honour to produce two such extraordinary Persons; who, in one respect, are a little unfortunate to fall into no better Hands, and have such egregious Virtues transmitted to Posterity by no other Pen, but that of our Author, who happens to stand so ill in the

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Opinion of the World, as to be rank'd with one Sort of Men, who are never believ'd, even when they ſpeak Truth.

P. 156, ſpeaking of Dr. *Sharp* in his uſual way, he has this extraordinary Reflection: *Yet this was ſuitable enough to a Maxim, that he, and all that Sort of People ſet up; that the Execution of Laws was that by which all Government maintain'd their Strength, as well as their Honour.* Whatever may be the Sentiments of the learned Author, as to the Truth of this Maxim, I believe the Generality of the Wold will join in Opinion with the Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews.*

P. 161, Speaking of the Fanatick Army, that was now to be disbanded, he ſeems unwilling to part with them, and gives them this Character: *They were certainly the braveſt, the beſt diſciplin'd, and the ſobereſt Army, that had been known in the latter Ages.* Or indeed in any before; and, it is to be hop'd will never be known again, being generally Anabaptiſts, Fifth-Monarchy-Men, and the wildeſt of the Sectaries. Their Bravery was no true Courage, reſulting from a Principle of Honour, and a virtuous Fear of Infamy; but downright Fury and Enthuſiaſm, actuated by a falſe Spirit of Religion. Their Sobriety was Hypocriſy; for tho' they would

would not publickly seem to debauch, they would get heartily drunk in private; especially when they broke into the Cellars of the poor Cavaliers. And, as for the Piety of those Saints, they made no Scruple to pillage Altars, and drag the Orthodox Clergy from their Pulpits, beat, and wound them to Death, while they call'd the Plunder of the Royalists the Spoils of the Ungodly, and the Heritage of the Lord; of all which Barbarities whole Volumes have been written, with Time, Place, Names, and Circumstances, to put the Truth of this Matter out of dispute: Such were the Men, for whom our Author seems to have so great a Veneration.

In the next Page, the good Bishop astonishes the Reader, by an Insinuation, as if there were too much Severity us'd towards the Regicides. We will see his own Words, for fear of being tax'd with Misrepresentation. *The Trial and Execution of the first who suffer'd, were run to by vast Crowds, and all People were pleas'd with the Sight; yet the Odiousness of the Crime grew at last to be so much flatned by the frequent Executions, and most of those who suffer'd dy'd with much Firmness and Shew of Piety, justifying all that they had done, not without a seeming Joy for their Sufferings on that Account that the King was advis'd not to proceed farther.* This pretended Effect of these Exe-

Executions, ſeems to be the Author's own Invention, nothing being more abſurd and unnatural, than to imagine, that ſuch Monſters, condemn'd for ſo atrocious a Crime, as had fill'd Mankind with Horror, ſhould touch the Compaſſion of the Spectator, by ſuch an Aggravation of their Guilt, in ſo harden'd an Impenitence. But what is more unaccountable, is to gueſs what the means by the frequent Executions, when, out of ſo great a Number as were in the Commiſſion to try the King, and of whom ſixty-ſix aſſented to the Judgment, by riſing from their Seats when Sentence was given, no more than ten were made Objects of human Vengeance; a Lenity, or rather Indolence, which very much leſſen'd King CHARLES in the Opinion of the World, both at Home and Abroad. This the Author would inſinuate to be Severity in the King, while his Friends on the other Side call this Conduct, in ſparing ſo many, a Cruelty to himſelf and Family, as well as an Injuſtice to the Manes of his injur'd Father, whoſe Blood cry'd ſo loud for Vengeance.

SPEAKING of *Harriſon*, he gives this Account of the Man: *P. ibid.* Harriſon *was the firſt that ſuffer'd; he was a fierce and bloody Enthuſiaſt: And it was believ'd, while the Army was in doubt, whether it was fitter to kill the King privately, or bring*

bring him to an open Trial, that he offer'd, if a private Way was ſettled on, to be the Man who ſhould do it; but however reaſonable this might be in it ſelf, it had a very ill Effect. After this Character of the Man, with all his Rhetorick, he paints him in the moſt ſhining Colours, extolls his Firmneſs, Reſolution, and Magnanimity; and, not without ſeeming Sentiments of Tenderneſs, calls Enthuſiaſm, Calmneſs; and Intoxication with ſpirituous Liquors, Chearfulneſs; for the printed Accounts at this Time inform us, that not only *Hugh Peters*, who was ſo downright drunk as to appear a Changeling, but *Harriſon* and *Carew* had drunk Brandy, or ſome ſuch Liquors, the Morning of their Execution, which gave them that Inſenſibility of their Danger, which our Author ſo much admires; otherwiſe, we ſhould find in him ſome Mark of Diſguſt or Reſentment. It is true, a Chriſtian Pity might be extended to his Blindneſs; but then at the ſame time, he ſhould have condemn'd his Hardneſs of Heart and Impenitence. This he ſhould have done, to take away a Surmiſe, which will naturally ariſe in ſome uncharitable People, that the Author tacitly in his Mind, imputed this extraordinary Behaviour to ſome ſupernatural Aſſiſtance, and the Goodneſs of the Cauſe for which they ſuffer'd. To this Suſpicion, he gives ſome manner of Handle,

by a pompous Deſcription of the Hero, inſtead of the Regicide.

P. 163. *The putting Sir* Harry Vane *to Death, was as much blam'd; for the Declaration from* Breda *being full, for an Indemnity to all, except the Regicides, he was comprehended in that* —— *An Addreſs was made by both Houſes in his Behalf, to which the King gave a favourable Anſwer, tho' in general Words: So that he reckon'd that he was ſafe, that being an Equivalent to an Act of Parliament, tho' it wanted the neceſſary Forms.* In this Account, which is deſign'd purpoſely to reflect on the Honour of King CHARLES, there is one poſitive Untruth, one very great Miſtake, beſides his conſtant Diſingenuity in concealing part of the Story. In the firſt place, the Declaration from *Breda* makes no mention of the Regicides, or any Body elſe, but leaves the Exceptions entirely to the Parliament, in whoſe Liſt of the Excepted, Sir *Harry Vane* and *Lambert* were particularly included. That a favourable Anſwer from the King in general Words, to either, or both Houſes, is equivalent to an Act of Parliament, is an Opinion, to which few Lawyers will ſubſcribe. But the Author thinks not fit to tell the Reader, that tho' the Convention, who had excepted this Gentleman out of the Act of Indemnity, afterwards interpos'd for Mercy;

and,

and, as he ſays, receiv'd a favourable Anſwer in general Words; nevertheleſs the ſucceeding and truer Repreſentation of the People, being a Parliament in all its Forms, thought fit, when that Matter was reſum'd, to abandon him to Juſtice, and addreſs'd the King, to bring *Vane* and *Lambert* to their Trials: So that being under no Obligation from his prior Anſwer in general Terms, the King was entirely free to hearken to the Voice of his People, and comply with their laſt Requeſt.

When he gives us an Account of this Gentleman's Behaviour at his Death, he tells us theſe Particulars, *p.* 164. *He was beheaded on* Tower-hill, *where a new and very indecent Practice was begun: It was obſerv'd, that the dying Speeches of the Regicides had left Impreſſions on the Hearers, that were not at all to the Advantage of the Government; ſo Strains of a peculiar Nature, being expected from him, to prevent that, Drummers were plac'd under the Scaffold, who, as ſoon as he began to ſpeak of the Publick, upon a Sign given, ſtruck up with their Drums. This put him into no Diſorder. He deſir'd they might be ſtopt; for he underſtood what was meant by it. Then he went thro' his Devotions; and as he was taking leave of thoſe about him, he happening to ſay ſomewhat with relation to the Times, the Drums*

ſtruck up a ſecond time; ſo he gave over, and died with ſo much Compoſedneſs, that it was generally thought, that the Government loſt more than it gain'd by his Death. If the Author had not been of an Opinion, that the Regicides had fully juſtify'd themſelves and the Cauſe at their Death, he would not ſo boldly have aſſerted, that their dying Speeches had made Impreſſions to the Diſadvantage of the Government; for, naturally ſpeaking, whatever thoſe Miſcreants could ſay, muſt only affect thoſe of their own Principles, who were already mortal Enemies to the King. But if the Liberty allow'd them was truly ſo fatal, as he repreſents, the Adminiſtration had more Reaſon to prevent the like ill Conſequences for the future: It muſt be a ſad and helpleſs Government indeed, that will not take all lawful Precautions to preſerve the publick Peace, and prevent the People from being poiſon'd. But the Relation, which he gives of the Compoſedneſs of that unhappy Gentleman, is unanimouſly contradicted, by ſome very extravagant Circumſtances, in all the printed Accounts that were publiſh'd at the Time, and which could have been contradicted, if not true, by ſo many thouſand Spectators, as were Witneſſes of the Execution. But as theſe were only Pamphlets, we will have recourſe to better Authority: Mr. *Eachard* has written a very large Hiſtory of theſe Times, and muſt be ſup-

ſuppos'd to have very good Vouchers, for what he affirms poſitively as Matter of Fact. Let us ſee then what this Hiſtorian ſays of this Matter. *Eachard p.* 802. *Being brought to the Scaffold on the fourteenth of* June, *he there run out into ſuch Lectures of Treaſon and Enthuſiaſm, that the Sheriffs and the reſt, after two or three Warnings, were forc'd to drown them with the Noiſe of Drums and Trumpets, and were going to take his Papers from him; but he with great Rage and Indignation tore them to pieces, and ſubmitted to the Block in a very diſcompos'd manner.* I could bring other Relations; but this is authentick; and Mr. *Eachard* is ſtill alive to juſtify it. After this falſe and partial Account, I leave the Reader to judge of the Author's Sincerity.

As Dr. **Burnet** was a terrible Enemy, ſo I muſt do him the Juſtice to acknowledge, that he was a very good Friend; and that he took as much Pains to extenuate, and give the beſt Turn to the Faults of his own Party, as to aggravate the Failings and blacken the Virtues of his Enemies. To ſhew that I do not wrong the Author in this Charge, it is his own Principle that he has aſſerted, and it is to himſelf that I appeal. In his Reflections on the Hiſtory of *Varillas*, *p.* 7 and 8, he has

theſe Words: *An Hiſtorian who favours his own Side, is to be forgiven, tho' he puts too much Life in his Colours, when he ſets out the beſt Side of his own Party, and the worſt of thoſe from whom he differs; and if he but ſlightly touches the Failure of his Friends, and ſeverely aggravates thoſe of the other Side, tho' in this he departs from the Laws of an exact Hiſtorian; yet the Biaſs is ſo natural, that if it leſſen the Credit of the Hiſtorian, it does not blacken him.* This is contrary to the Opinion of *Tully*, when he ſays of an Hiſtorian, *Nequid falſi dicere audeat, nequid Veri non audeat.* This Aſſertion is ſo aſtoniſhing, that I cannot expect the Reader, who has not read his Book on *Varillas*, ſhould believe me, till he ſees it with his own Eyes. No doubt can be made, but that the Author has been guided by this Principle in all his Party Writings. Other Men have fallen into this Fault thro' Intereſt or Malice; but I believe Dr. **Burnet** is the only Man, who ever had the Forehead to defend it.

ACCORDING to this Principle, to excuſe the Chancellor from what has been unanimouſly laid at his Door, the giving to King CHARLES that cruel Advice, to court his Enemies, and truſt to the Principles of his

Friends;

Friends; he tells us, *p.* 165. *To load the Earl of* Clarendon *the more, it was given out, that he had advis'd the King to gain his Enemies, since he was sure of his Friends by their Principles. With this he was often charg'd, tho' he always deny'd it. Whether the King fasten'd it upon him, after he had disgrac'd him, to make him the more odious, I cannot tell.* Tho' the Author tells us, that the Chancellor constantly deny'd this Charge, we may venture to say, that if Dr. **Burnet** had truly believ'd him in this Matter, he would not have had so good an Opinion of my Lord *Clarendon.*

As we feel to this Day the dismal Consequences of those Councils, which were not more wicked, than weak and impolitick, it will be but Justice to the Publick, to endeavour to set that Matter in the clearest Light we can. It is notoriously known, that some of the greatest Republicans, and most furious Enemies to King CHARLES II. and the Constitution in Church and State ever since, were disoblig'd Cavaliers, who sacrific'd Principle to Resentment; a Conduct, which, with Grains of Allowance for Flesh and Blood, without a very great Dispensation of Grace, is not the most unaccountable. The Treatment of the Royal Party at this time, will never find Belief with Posterity. To be neglected was enough; but to see the Enemy

triumph in their Spoils, was more than Nature could ſupport. There are Inſtances of ſome, who were admitted to the royal Preſence and Favour, without being totally free from the Blood of the King; while they, who had laviſh'd their own in his Defence, were ſuffer'd to ſtarve on the Pavement. The Eſtates of the *Iriſh*, who had fought for the King, and follow'd his Fortunes in Exile, were confirm'd to Drummers and Serjeants, who had conducted his Father to the Scaffold. The poor Cavaliers were not only unrewarded, but deny'd their juſt Debts; even the Repayment of the Money they had lent to the King; while the Round-heads were more than careſs'd, and by their Poſts and Employments now ſhar'd the Revenues of that Crown, which they had plunder'd before. There was but one Perſon who had Credit to give, or Power to ſupport his Advice when given. The Author is pleas'd to tell us, that the King himſelf declar'd, that the Chancellor was the Man. As he was the beſt, and, indeed, only Judge of the Matter, we ought in good Manners to believe him. I could have ſaid more on this Subject, if I were not tender of diſturbing the Aſhes of the Dead; nor would I have ſaid ſo much, if I had not thought myſelf oblig'd to diſabuſe the Living. I could alſo convict him of the groſſeſt Flattery in ſome of his other Characters, and ſpoil the Hero, if

whether thoſe Iriſh concerned in Rebellion in 1641. it is very reaſoning to ſay they fought for the King

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I would leſſen any Man's good Name at the Expence of the Author's Reputation, which is no Equivalent.

P. 168, he gives a Character of the Duke of *York*, whom he treats at firſt with ſeeming Juſtice; but it is only to give his Reader a falſe Impreſſion of his Candor, that he may the more eaſily be believ'd, when he ſtabs him to the Heart afterward, by making him the greateſt of Villains, and the laſt of human Race. After having own'd how gracious the Duke was to him, and the repeated Favours which he had receiv'd from that Prince, a Man, who had been capable of bluſhing, would have been aſham'd to have made ſo barbarous a Return: But is it no Wonder, that he ſhould be without Gratitude, who wanted the Mother of all Virtues, Juſtice.

The Account which he gives us of the Marriage with the firſt Duthcheſs, is ſo falſe in ſome Circumſtances, and ſo miſrepreſented in others, as to be eaſily refuted, if that could be done, without wounding the Honour of ſome, for whom we have too great Reſpect, that being as contrary to our Inclinations, as Detraction is a viſible Pleaſure to the Author of the Book before us.

P. 172,

P. 172, here he is again for exculpating his old Friend, the Earl of *Clarendon*, in the Affair of *Dunkirk*, and laying the Blame, if it was a Crime, on an innocent Man. For he ſays thus: *The Matter under Debate was, whether it ought to be kept, or ſold. The military Men, who were believ'd to be corrupted by* France, *ſaid the Place was not tenable; that in Time of Peace it would put the King to great Charge, and in Time of War it would not quit the Coſt of keeping. The Earl of* Clarendon *ſaid, that he underſtood not thoſe Matters, but did appeal to* Monk's *Judgment; who did poſitively adviſe the letting of it go for the Sum that was offer'd.* In this notable Paragraph, I muſt firſt obſerve the Author's ill Will to the military Men, whom he attacks after his uſual Manner, in a Parentheſis, (it was believ'd) were corrupted by *France:* But theſe were hectoring, roaring, and debauch'd Cavaliers, unlike his godly Saints, whom he ſo admir'd at *Aberdeen;* aſſuring us that they were gifted Men, who could preach and pray, as well as fight. I muſt alſo put the Reader in mind of what I remark'd before: Here, in the ſame Line, he names the Earl of *Clarendon*, and plain *Monk;* tho' the latter was actually at this Moment Duke of *Albemarle*, and the other only Sir *Edward Hide*, not being created an Earl till the Coronation, which follow'd ſome Months after this firſt

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Debate. If the Author had thought fit to have treated them both alike, *Hide* would have ſounded as well as *Monk*; or *Albemarle* as well as *Clarendon*.

As to what he poſitively affirms, that the Duke of *Albemarle* advis'd the ſelling of *Dunkirk*, and that the Chancellor had no Hand in that Matter, there is no diſproving him at this time of Day: He has taken care to let every Body be dead, who could have contradicted him, before he publiſh'd his Book; we muſt therefore go on the Probabilities on the other Side. The Intereſt of the Chancellor was ſo great, and his Power ſo abſolute at this time, even by the Author's own Confeſſion, that it is a little difficult to believe, that any thing of very great Conſequence could be carry'd contrary to his Inclination, if he had thought fit to have oppos'd it. And as for the Duke of *Albemarle*, whom he has pitch'd upon as the Author of this Advice, he choſe the moſt unlikely Perſon; it being very well known with what Warmth that Duke oppos'd the Demolition of the Forts and Citadels in *Scotland*, built by *Cromwell*. This would induce us to believe, that the ſame Perſon ſhould have had an equal Tenderneſs in parting with *Dunkirk*. If he were guilty, he certainly had as good Luck to eſcape the publick Cenſure, as my Lord *Clarendon* was unfor-

unfortunate to bear the Blame and Reproach of the whole Nation on that Account. And what remarkably adds to the Injuſtice of this Treatment, is, that the fine Houſe, which the Chancellor built in *Piccadilly*, was in Deriſion by the People call'd *Dunkirk-Houſe*, as if built with the Money ariſing from the Sale of that Place. Nor is it leſs an Aggravation of this Hardſhip, that all the while that noble Fabrick continu'd in the Poſſeſſion of the innocent Perſon, and his Family, it retain'd that invidious Name; but as ſoon as it was ſold to the guilty Family of *Albemarle*, it was call'd by that Title, which the People, as well as the Crown, thought fit to give to the *Monks*, tho' judg'd unworthy of any Honours by our Author. But what makes this Aſſertion of Dr. **Burnet** the more ſuſpicious, is, a few Years after, when that great Man was charg'd by the Houſe of Commons with the Affair of *Dunkirk*, that his Innocence was not then clear'd, there being ſo many Witneſſes then alive, who knew the Truth of that Tranſaction, ſo as to have been able to have laid the Saddle on the right Horſe.

P. 175, he ſays, that the King, in his Declaration from *Breda*, had promis'd to confirm the Settlement of *Ireland*. This is another Miſtake; the Declaration from *Breda* extended only to *England*, and had no regard

regard to *Scotland* and *Ireland*, of which there is no more Mention, than of *China* or *Japan*.

The Declaration is general.

P. 176, he ſays, *I have reſerv'd the Affairs of the Church laſt, as thoſe about which I have taken the moſt Pains to be inform'd, and which I do therefore offer to the Reader with ſome Aſſurance, and on which I hope due Reflection will be made.* After this Declaration, of his being ſo well inform'd, one might expect ſome Truth. *P. ibid. At the Reſtoration*, Juxon, *the antienteſt and moſt eminent of the former Biſhops, who had aſſiſted the late King in his laſt Hours, was promoted to* Canterbury, *more out of Decency, than that he was capable to fill that Poſt; for as he was never a great Divine, he was now ſuperannuated.* Here he begins his Compliments to the Church of *England*, by abuſing the firſt of her Prelates after the Reſtoration; and not only him, but all the other great Men, who had been ſo barbarouſly treated by the Doctor's good Friends in the Time of the great Rebellion; for he plainly tells us, that the Perſon, whom he calls the moſt eminent of all, had neither Capacity, or Learning, to be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. As he has given us one weak Man, the next in courſe, according to his Rule, muſt be a Knave: Let us ſee therefore what he will ſay of the Succeſſor. Shel-

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don *was eſteem'd a learned Man before the Wars; but he was now ſo deeply engaged in Politicks, that ſcarce any Prints of what he had been, remain'd.* ——— *He was a generous and charitable Man.* ——— *He ſeem'd not to have a due Senſe of Religion, if any at all; and ſpoke of it moſt commonly as an Engine of Government, a Matter of Policy. By this means, the King began to look on him as a wiſe and honeſt Clergyman.* There is ſomewhat extraordinary in this noble Character, that the Author gives of this great Prelate. But I imagine, that the Reader will find it difficult to conceive, how a very learned Man, by being engaged in the Buſineſs neceſſary to his Profeſſion, ſhould ſo ſoon loſe all his Knowledge, ſo as to have no Prints remain. It will be worth while to enquire a little into theſe ſtrange Politicks, which had ſo oblivious a Quality, like the Waters of *Lethe*, to affect the Brain, and make a Man forget all that he had learnt before. The great Rank, which an Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* holds in the Monarchy of *England*, muſt neceſſarily engage him in ſome Affairs of State, as he is always a Privy Counſellor; but that he was in the Miniſtry more than his Poſt oblig'd him, we have no Account. The little time that his Predeceſſor liv'd after the Reſtoration, muſt neceſſarily leave on his Hands very great Affairs of the Church, which was then but juſt reſet-

reſettled; but that ſuch an Application to that Buſineſs ſhould ſpoil the Divine, and efface all Prints of his former Learning, is ſomewhat ſo prodigious, as to be worthy the Remark of our Author; who indeed ſeems a little to confirm this Notion by his own Example; for we have found a very great Difference between the Preacher at the *Rolls*, and the Biſhop of *Salisbury*; who, after he had debbled in Politicks abroad, at *Rome*, *Geneva*, and *Holland*, began to dwindle in his Reputation, and loſe the Character he had acquir'd before; which, as it was greater than he deſerv'd and always ſupported by Dint of Party, ſhould have hinder'd him from publiſhing theſe lamentable Memoirs that lie before us; the which, if he had not been impair'd in his Intellects, he never would have ventur'd on Poſterity. But this Deſcription of Archbiſhop *Sheldon* is all fictitious: As Painters form in their Brain ideal Faces, ſo our Author draws imaginary Characters. But when he repreſents this great Man to be atheiſtical, and that King CHARLES for that very Reaſon counted him a wiſe and honeſt Churchman, the Author confirms to us again how little he underſtood Nature, and the Paſſions in Men; for let King CHARLES be as irreligious as he would have the World believe, there is ſomething ſo amiable in Virtue and Piety, as to attract an Eſteem and Reverence from thoſe very

very Perſons who have none themſelves. So that, whatever Advantages the Author himſelf may have reap'd on that Account from ſome particular Perſons, there is no Man of good Senſe, that will ever eſteem, and think any Clergyman has the more Merit, for not believing in JESUS CHRIST. After all, if this great Prelate had no Religion, he muſt of conſequence have had a great deal of Vanity, to give away ſo immenſe a Sum as 66000. *l.* in private Charities, and publick Benefactions, during his own Life, only to acquire a Reputation in this World, without any View or Hopes of Reward in the next. Afterwards, in the ſame Page, he ſays, *That* Morley *was thought the honeſter Man of the two, and* Sheldon *the abler Man.* By this Compariſon, in plain *Engliſh*, he calls them both Knaves. By this the Reader may be convinc'd of the Reſpect that the Author bears to the Church of *England*, when he makes no Scruple thus to treat her moſt illuſtrious Sons with ſo much Arrogance and Injuſtice.

P. 179, he gives us an Account of the Conference in the *Savoy*, about a Comprehenſion, in which he is infinitely partial to the Diſſenters, by giving them the Advantage in every thing; and ſeems very angry with the Church, for not turning Presbyterian, by giving up all her Characteriſticks,

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Diſcipline, and Ceremonies; among which, the Croſs in Baptiſm, and kneeling at the Sacrament, were but inconſiderable Trifles. He is not a little diſpleas'd at their retaining the Apocryphal Scriptures, and ſeems very much frighted at *Bel* and the *Dragon*.

P. 184, he ſeems a little diſſatisfy'd with the Inſtitution of the 30th of *January*, on which Occaſion he thus remarkably expreſſes himſelf: *The 30th of* January, *call'd King* CHARLES *the Martyr*. It is no Wonder if the Author ſcruples to give to that Prince the Title of Martyr, when he has taken ſuch Pains, by ſly Inſinuations, to exculpate the villainous Authors, and leſſen the Horror of his Martyrdom.

P. ibid. St. Bartholomew's Day *was pitch'd on, that if they were then depriv'd, they ſhould loſe the Profits of the whole Year: ſince the Tithes are commonly due at* Michaelmas. *The Presbyterians remember'd what a* St. Bartholomew *had been held at* Paris *ninety Years before, which was the Day of the Maſſacre, and did not ſtick to compare one to the other.* This is a Flight of his own; moſt of the Diſſenters were too illiterate and ignorant in the Hiſtory of *Europe*, almoſt to have heard of the thing, eſpecially to be ſo preciſe in the Year, and the Day. This is a Note beyond *Ela*; the Au-

thor has exerted himſelf, and given a ſparring Blow to the Church and Parliament of *England*; ſuch a Repreſentation of the People, as has ſeldom been ſeen before, or ſince, within the Walls of *St. Stephen*'s Chappel, if we conſider the Quality, Fortunes and Intereſts, in their Countries, of the Perſons who compos'd that illuſtrious Aſſembly: But without this Conſideration, what he arraigns was an Act of Parliament, a Law made by the People in their Legiſlative Capacity, unanimouſly and calmly, without any Violence, Tumult, or indirect Means. This our judicious Author compares to the Maſſacre of *Paris*, a Scene of Horror, which has diſgrac'd human Nature; as if the cutting ſo many thouſand innocent Throats, with all the Circumſtances of Rage and Barbarity, in cold Blood, could bear any Reſemblance with the legal ejecting a Number of unlawful Miniſters, moſt of whom had intruded into other Mens Rights, and like Wolves had leap'd into the Fold. The greateſt Part of theſe Men had been Trumpeters of Sedition, and not only inflam'd, but occaſioned the War between the late King and his People. And after they had conquer'd the Crown and the Church, violently drove the Orthodox Miniſters from their Livings, by the Help of their ruffianly Red-coats, were inſtituted and inducted by Corporals and Serjeants, and ow'd their Poſſeſſion to the Hal-

Halberd inſtead of the Croſier. Theſe are the People, for whom our Author had ſo much Tenderneſs, who might have been ſav'd, if they would have comply'd with ſome innocent Ceremonies, by themſelves allow'd to be Things indifferent, and have renounc'd their impious Covenant; which had made them once Rebels before, and oblig'd them to be ſo again, whenever they ſhould have another Opportunity. I leave the Reader to judge of the Abſurdity of this Compariſon, which is as profundly ſilly, as it is extravagant.

P. 186. *Almoſt all the Leaſes of the Church Eſtates over* England *were fallen in, there having been no Renewal for twenty Years. The Leaſes for Years were determin'd, and the Wars had carried off ſo many Men, that moſt of the Leaſes for Lives were fallen into the Incumbents Hands; ſo that the Church Eſtates were in them. And the Fines rais'd by renewing of Leaſes roſe to above a Million and half. If the Half had been apply'd for buying of Tithes or Glebes for ſmall Vicarages, here a Foundation had been laid down for a great and effectual Reformation. In ſome Sees forty or fifty thouſand Pounds were rais'd, and apply'd to enriching the Biſhops Families. Something was done to Churches and Colleges, in particular to* St. Paul's *in* London; *and a noble*

Collection was made for redeeming all the Engliſh *Slaves in* Barbary. *But this fell ſhort of what might have been expected. In this the Lord* Clarendon *was heavily charg'd, as having ſhew'd, that he was rather the Biſhops Friend, than the Church's. It is true, that the Law made theſe Fines belong to the Incumbents; but ſuch an extraordinary Occaſion, deſerv'd that a Law ſhould have been made on purpoſe. What the Biſhops did with thoſe Fines, was a Pattern to all the lower Dignitaries, who generally took more Care of themſelves than the Church. The Men of Merit and Service were loaded with many Livings, and many Dignities. With this great Acceſſion of Wealth, there broke in upon the Church a great deal of Luxury and high Living, on the Pretence of Hoſpitality: while others made Purchaſes, and left great Eſtates, moſt of which we have ſeen melt away. And with this Overſet of Wealth and Pomp, that came on Men in the Decline of their Parts and Age; they, who were now growing into old Age, became lazy and negligent in all the true Concerns of the Church: They left Preaching and Writing to others, while they gave themſelves up to Eaſe and Sloth. In all which ſad Repreſentation, ſome few Exceptions are to be made; but ſo few, that if a new Set of Men had not appear'd of another*

ther Stamp, the Church had quite lost her Esteem over the Nation.

SUCH is the Character which this insolent Author gives of the great Men in the Government of the Church at this time; Men, who were not more venerable for their Piety, Charity, and all the Essentials of a good Clergyman, than eminent for their Learning, and other great Qualities; who are as much reverenc'd by all wise and good Men at this Day, as their wicked Detractor is now detested; and will, if possible, be more by Posterity. Take all the Characters together, not only those of the Bishops, but the whole dignify'd Clergy, and he makes them avaritious, luxurious, lazy, and slothful; negligent in the Concerns of the Church, even Knaves and Atheists. As the Church of *England* never, in the same Compass of Time, had the Honour to see her Episcopal Sees so illustriously fill'd, these extraordinary Virtues could not fail to be Objects of Malice in the most unjust and disingenuous of Men, who has express'd in this Paragraph as much Venom, as a visible Want of all Sense of Shame. If the Author had been touch'd with the least Sentiment of Christianity, he would have avoided so heinous and mortal a Sin, as that of wilful and premeditated Detraction, so odious in the Sight of God and Man; he would not

have ventur'd, with a Conſcience as ſear'd, as his Forehead was harden'd, to have impos'd on the World ſo groſs and palpable a Calumny, in which he was ſure to be detected: But as, by prolonging the Publication of his Book, he knew that he ſhould be cover'd in the Grave from feeling the Reſentment of the Living, ſo he abſolutely deſpiſed whatever might be ſaid of him when dead. Without this Example, it would be hard to conceive, that human Nature could arrive to ſuch a Height of Depravity; that a Man, without any Temptation of Intereſt, but only to gratify his Malice, ſhould be ſo prodigiouſly ſtupid, as to be neither concern'd for his Reputation in this World, or his Safety in that to come.

If any Man ſhould think that I have treated the Author on this Subject with too much Roughneſs, contrary to my Deſign, or Inclinations, let him conſider the Provocation; *Reſponſum, non dictum eſſe, quia læſit prior.* The Reader, by his own Indignation, may eaſily conceive how difficult it is, not to feel the warmeſt Reſentment at ſo barbarous a Treatment of ſo much Virtue and Merit.

Before we proceed in confuting the Matter of Fact in this Account, we will ſhew the Reader the Inconſiſtencies of this very Para-

Paragraph. He owns, that the Fines, which were rais'd, were the Incumbents Right in Law; and at the ſame time blames my Lord *Clarendon*, for not taking them away. This is a fine Doctrine in a Country of Property! Oh, but a Law ſhould have been made on purpoſe. A Law, that takes away another Man's undoubted Right, is as unjuſt as any other Act of Violence. He owns, that theſe Biſhops repair'd Colleges and Churches, eſpecially *St. Paul's*; that they made a noble Collection to redeem all the *Engliſh* Slaves in *Barbary*; and then ſeems to wonder what they did with their Money. His Account of the immenſe Sum rais'd upon Fines, which he makes to amount to a Million and half, muſt be very much mitigated: He was either very ill inform'd, or, what is more probable, never enquir'd at all into the Matter; but, according to Cuſtom, gave us his own extravagant Gueſs. If he had taken the Pains to have been better inſtructed, he would have known that theſe Men, whom he ſo abuſes, gave very near five hundred thouſand Pounds of this Money to publick Uſes; a Liberality ſo immenſe, that when a true Deduction is made from his extravagant Account, will make a very great Hole in any Sum that they could poſſibly have receiv'd. Biſhop *Couſin*, not to mention others, gave the greateſt Part of his Fines to thoſe very Uſes he mentions, the Augmen-

tation of ſmall Benefices. *Warner*, with no better a Biſhoprick than that of *Rocheſter*, gave no leſs than 59600 *l.* in publick Benefactions; a Munificence ſo aſtoniſhing, ſo vaſt a Charity, as the Doctor and all his Favourites, the Men of another Stamp, would not have given in ſo many Years, if they had poſſeſs'd the Revenues of the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo*. It is worth while to enquire what the Author left himſelf at his Death; for he would not part with much, while alive, to ſuch good Uſes. If we may rely on his Will, which is printed, he bequeath'd a little more that 2000 *l.* to found a School in his own Country, to breed up young Presbyterians with the Money of the Church of *England*, to pick out her Eyes, as their Anceſtors had once done before with their *Covenant*. This was not ſo very extraordinary, when we conſider that the See of *Salisbury* is one of the beſt in *England*; and that the good Biſhop ſat in that Chair above twenty-five Years.

is reported that gave noble Benefactions in his life time. It is related in a Pamphlet wrote by Dr Cheverell in Answer to Bishop Hoadly founded the Collegium Matronarum at Salisbury.

His next Charge upon theſe good Men, is what he calls Luxury and High-living, on pretence of Hoſpitality. Tho' the Author condemns this Conduct, I always thought, that Hoſpitality, and feeding the Poor, was one of the chief Ends, for which ſuch great Revenues were given to the Church by the Piety of our Anceſtors. This is a little unjuſt,

juſt, to blame that Charity, which he had not the Virtue himſelf to imitate. Nor is he leſs unreaſonable to find fault with the poor old Men, whom he repreſents, in their Decline, broken with Age and Infirmities, for not preaching ſo often as himſelf. That Office was never reputed the chief of the paſtoral Care, eſpecially in Men of that Age, whoſe Memories muſt be decay'd, and their Strength not ſufficient to bear the Fatigue of a long Diſcourſe: It is not every Body's good Fortune to have the Lungs and the Wind of Dr. **Burnet**, with the Strength of a Porter, inſtead of a Gentleman.

THEIR leaving ſuch Eſtates to their Families, after their expenſive Living; their great Benefactions and Charge in repairing their Churches, dilapidated by Time, and the Sacrilege of Forty-one, muſt ſhew them to be very great Oeconomiſts. But his Obſervation, that theſe Eſtates melted away, as being very ill gotten, is not a little diverting, in an Author, who gives us the firſt Inſtance of his having any Religion at all, by this childiſh and weak Superſtition. If what he ſays is true, theſe Men had certainly a very great Art while they were ſquandering their Revenues in a riotous Hoſpitality, to be able to perform ſuch great things. Thus he makes them ſcraping and luxurious, prodigal and miſerable, at the ſame Time.

IF

If the Author had been pleas'd to have given us an Account what great Charities were diſpenc'd by his Favourites, the Men with the large Souls, it would have been very ſatisfactory; but, upon a ſtrict Enquiry, we ſhall find that they were not only very tender of their Money, but even the Scraps of their frugal Tables. The Difference in this Caſe is very remarkable: We will only mention a ſingle Inſtance at *Lambeth*, the Poor of which great Pariſh, were almoſt maintain'd by the munificent Charities of *Sheldon* and *Sancroft*; and this was not Scraps, and the Refuſe of their hoſpitable Tables, but a daily Allowance of Meat and Drink, provided on purpoſe for the Poor. But when his Men of another Stamp ſucceeded, the Caſe was much alter'd; the Church-wardens found more Buſineſs on their Hands, and the Rates in their Books daily increas'd; till at laſt there was ſuch a Reformation at *Lambeth*, that you might as well have ſeen a Beggar at the *Stadthouſe* in *Amſterdam*, as before the Gate of that Palace, eſpecially within the Reach of the Porter's Staff. But we can eaſily account for this wonderful Change: There was now a certain ſtrange Thing within the Walls of that Houſe, which never had been ſeen there for above a hundred Years before; lac'd Heads, and ſilk Petticoats, diverted the Money that us'd to be given to the Poor. This gave

gave occaſion to the *Paris* Gazetteer to exerciſe his Wit and Raillery on this Subject, in one of his Gazetts at this time: In the Article from *London*, he was pleas'd to tell us, that *the Sieur* Tillotſon *was building an Apartment in the Archiepiſcopal Palace of* Lambeth *for his Lady*, (in *French*, *Madame ſa Femme*) *when that Houſe was built, it not being the Cuſtom for Archbiſhops to have Wives.* It is true, *Parker* was married; but his Succeſſors had other Sentiments; whether it was to ſupport the Credit of the Reformation, by not giving a Handle to the Ridicule of their Enemies, or that the great Men, who ſucceeded, thought it below their Patriarchal Dignity, as well as inconvenient, to be embarraſs'd with the Impediments of common Life; this was the next Inſtance of Women being ſeen at *Lambeth*. As to Archbiſhop *Parker*, who was a great Favourite of Queen *Elizabeth*, by having had the Care of her Education, I have heard it often confidently affirm'd, tho' I ſhall not aſſert it as Fact, that this great Man, in complaiſance to the Queen, who had a better Opinion of the Celibacy, than the married State of the Clergy, never produced his Lady publickly in his Palace, but kept her in a little Houſe adjoining to his Garden-wall, thro' which, the Convenience of a Poſtern Door gave him private Acceſs. If ſo, the good old Man had

had all the Pleaſure and Amuſement of an Intrigue, without the Guilt.

It was neither my Deſign nor Inclination, when I undertook this Task, to have reflected on any Perſon, eſpecially the Dead: But ſince the Author gives ſo great a Provocation, by extolling one Side, and unjuſtly defaming the other, by robbing the Deſerving of their Due, and planting the Trophies of their Virtues on Heads with inferior Merit, it will be but common Juſtice to make a fair War, and endeavour to recover the Spoils. We will therefore enquire into the Men of another Stamp, who, he ſays, recover'd the Credit, the Eſteem, and Reverence for the Church, which the others had loſt. Moſt of theſe Men were Time-Servers, and had not only gone in with the Crowd, but had ſupported the Iniquity of the long Rebellion; and, for the ſake of Preferment, had always comply'd with every Change of Religion and Government. But I will detain the Reader no longer, but only, by an Enquiry into two of his chief Characters, who both, as well as the Author, were meant by a famous Preacher, * when he told us above thirty Years ago from the Pulpit, *That the Streams could not run clear when*

* *Vide Dr.* Birch's *Sermons.*

when the Fountains were polluted; when thoſe were become Fathers of the Church, who had never been her Sons. The firſt of theſe was the famous Dr. *Tillotſon*, who, it is very well known, wanted that ſort of Learning ſo abſolutely neceſſary to his Profeſſion, as to be a Qualification for a Country Curate: By the Study of the Ancients, and the Claſſick Authors, whom he had made his Models, he had form'd a Stile, and acquir'd a juſt way of thinking, with a Simplicity and Eaſineſs of Expreſſion; before his Time, unknown in *England*. This juſtly gave him the Character of an excellent Preacher. I wiſh from my Heart, that I could ſpeak as well of him in reſpect to his Religion and Politicks: His Alliance with *Cromwell*, with whoſe Party he maintain'd a firm and ſettled Friendſhip to his dying Day; his warping to ſome Heterodox Opinions, condemn'd in all Ages, and which gave a Handle to ſome Perſons to charge him with Socinianiſm; but above all, his known Diſaffection to the Diſcipline and Morals of the Church of *England*, made him a very popular Favourite with all her Enemies, the Proteſtant Diſſenters of every Denomination. As to his Principles of Government, we need only tell the following Story, the Truth of with was too notoriouſly known to be now diſputed. He was a Fellow of *Clare-Hall* in *Cambridge*, by virtue of a *Mandamus* from the *Rump*,

in

in the room of the famous and loyal Doctor *Gunning*, whom the Iniquity of thoſe Times had by Violence ejected. Upon the News of the Defeat at *Worceſter*, after Dinner in the Hall, when he was to return Thanks for another Man's Meat, which he had wrongfully eaten, he call'd for the Tables, in which the College Grace was written, and with his own Hand, out of Zeal to the Cauſe, inſerted theſe Words: *Et præſertim pro* nupera *Victoria, in Agro Vigornienſi, contra* Carolum Stuartum *reportata.* This is the Man whom our Author ſo much magnifies; tho', if ſome Perſons, who out of Modeſty, or for ſome other worſe Reaſons, are unwilling to appear in publick, would openly avow, what they own to know of this Matter, he had not ſo much reaſon to value himſelf upon the Friendſhip of Dr. *Tillotſon*, who was a little ungrateful in this Point, in not having an equal Opinion of Dr. **Burnet**. In anſwer to what he ſays, that this great Man brought the Citizens of *London* from their Diſlike to the Church of *England*, we can eaſily account for that Matter; it being no Wonder, that the Party diſaffected to the Government in Church and State, ſhould be more willing to follow a Paſtor who had preach'd to them before in that Aſſembly, which we now call a Conventicle, and who was of the ſame Principles with thoſe Trumpeters of Sedition, who had

had led them into the great Rebellion againſt CHARLES I.

THE next is Doctor *Tenniſon*; but before I meddle with him, I muſt take notice of what he ſays of another great Man, who highly deſerves to be eſteem'd in all reſpects. This is Dr. *Stilling fleet*, in whom he finds nothing ſo much to commend, as one of the falſeſt Steps of his Life, his *Irenicum*; and that he may be all of a Piece, he as much condemns his Repentance.

OF Dr. *Tenniſon* he gives this Account: *A very worthy Succeſſor in his Cure*; Tenniſon, *he endow'd Schools, ſet up a publick Library.* ——— *He was a very learned Man, and took Pains to ſtate the Notions and Practices of heatheniſh Idolatry, and to faſten that Charge upon the Church of* Rome: *And* Whitehall *lying in that Pariſh, he ſtood as in the Front of the Battle all King* James's *Reign, and maintain'd, as well as manag'd, that dangerous Poſt with great Courage and much Judgment; and was held in very high Eſteem for his whole Deportment, which was very grave and moderate. Theſe are the greateſt Divines we have had for theſe forty Years.* If this is true, nothing can be falſe; Dr. **Burnet** was never in the wrong in his Life, was as mortify'd a Man, as good a Chriſtian as Biſhop *Ken*,

and

and as fine a Gentleman, as Archbiſhop *Sheldon*. In anſwer to this Character, I ſhall only affirm, what was too well known at the time to be contradicted, that Doctor *Tenniſon* was the only Divine of the Church of *England*, who, in the Controverſy with that of *Rome*, loſt Ground, was foil'd and defeated by *Polton* the Jeſuit, in the Conference at the *Savoy*, for want of Capacity to defend ſo good a Cauſe. So that the Author, before he can make us have any Opinion of this Man's extraordinary Learning, if half the Blunders, which are laid to his Charge, are true, ſhould firſt convince us, of his having at all times good Senſe. But ſince our Hiſtorian boaſts of his Charity, in founding a paltry Grammar School with other Mens Money, and dares mention him in the ſame Day with ſo great Name as *Sheldon*, we will weigh the Merit of the two Men. When that illuſtrious Prelate, after his Promotion, went the firſt time to his Palace at *Croydon*, he gave no leſs than two hundred Pounds to the Poor. Archbiſhop *Tenniſon*, at the ſame Place, on the ſame Occaſion, gave five Pounds among two hundred People, ſome of whom had come thirty Miles in Hopes of a conſiderable Relief. As the Value of the Money, ſo was that of the Men, by the Rule of Proportion, as five is to two hundred, ſo was Dr. *Tenniſon* to Dr. *Sheldon*.

P. 195.

This might cause a Essening of the Gift. if many who were not in Need had intruded among them who were.

P. 195. *All this I knew of* Peter Walsh *himself, who was the honestest and learnedest Man I ever knew among them. He was of* Irish *Extraction, and of the* Franciscan *Order; and was indeed, in all Points of Controversy, almost wholly a Protestant.* This is no unpleasant Assertion; he makes a Man the honestest Papist that ever he knew, because he was a Protestant in his Heart. He might have been the latter, and a very good Man, if he had thought fit to have own'd his Religion; but he was certainly never the better Papist for being a Hypocrite. Without allowing Dissimulation in the Case of Religion, the Author will hardly get clear of this Blunder.

Many honest Pap
are of Opinion
the Protestants
particular poin
of Controversy

P. 196. *For tho' the King never lov'd or esteem'd the Duke, yet he seem'd to stand in some kind of Awe of him.* This very thing he has asserted more than once; but how he will reconcile this Notion to the Actions of that Prince, we cannot imagine. As to outward Appearance, the Friendship between these two Royal Brothers was very remarkable; whenever the Sedition and Violence of the Times tore them from one another, they always parted with the most tender Sentiments of Brotherly Love, and a Friendship that was highly edifying to all Men

of Honour and Virtue. The King always employ'd him in Poſts of the greateſt Truſt, till the Jealouſy of the Duke's Religion, render'd him unqualify'd for any Employment. When the Bill of Excluſion had ſet the Nation on Fire, this weak, this indolent Prince, abſorpt in his Pleaſures, according to our Author's Character, ſhew'd a Firmneſs and Reſolution in Defence of a Perſon, whom he neither lov'd nor eſteem'd, that muſt make his Conduct in this Point very unaccountable; when, by ſacrificing to his Intereſt the Man whom he fear'd, he might at once have got rid of thoſe Apprehenſions, and the Danger that threaten'd him at the ſame time from his People. Beſides, the Tenderneſs with which, when dying, he bequeath'd him his Crown, muſt confute this falſe and ridiculous Aſſertion of the Author.

P. 196. *There was no viſible Cauſe of War; a Complaint of a Ship taken was ready to be ſatisfy'd.* The Author has been all along before ext avagant; but here he exceeds himſelf, and treats his Reader with the laſt Contempt by thinking he could thus impoſe upon him; as if he believ'd that no Body would read any Book but his own, and that there would be no Journals or Records for the Information of Poſterity. Since we have

been

been a Nation, and able to make War, we never enter'd into any with more Unanimity and the publick Voice of the People. *Europe* alone was too narrow a Theatre for the Depredations of the *Dutch*; both *Indies* and *Africk*, the four Quarters of the World, were Witneſſes of the Violences offer'd to the *Engliſh* Nation. Theſe repeated Injuries rais'd ſuch an Outcry among the Merchants, that they found themſelves oblig'd to petition the King and Parliament: Committees were appointed to enquire into the Facts; all which being undeniably prov'd, both Houſes join'd in a ſolemn and moſt pathetick Addreſs to the King, beſeeching him to do Juſtice to his injur'd Subjects. The Truth of this will appear, by the Votes and Journals of Parliament, as well as the common Chronicles. The Loſs ſuſtain'd by *England*, as prov'd upon Oath, amounted to no leſs than ſeven or eight hundred thouſand Pounds; for which no Reparation could be obtain'd, tho' amicably demanded. Upon this, two hundred thouſand Pounds, by two Loans, were advanc'd, to carry on this War, by the City of *London*, a Body of Men, who ſeldom make ſuch Compliments to their Princes, but when they are as much prompted by Intereſt as Inclination. All this the good Biſhop ſmothers, by only ſaying, *that a Ship taken was ready to be ſatisfy'd.* This is all the Cauſe

that he aſſigns for that bloody War, ſo juſtly enter'd into by the Provocation of the Enemy, and in Defence of our juſt Rights, againſt the only dangerous Rival of our Commerce. Whether or no he has acted in this Matter, with the Candor and Fidelity of a juſt and honeſt Hiſtorian, I leave to the moſt bigotted Admirers of Dr. **Burnet** to decide; eſpecially, the Reverend Mr. *Stackhouſe*, who has ſo great an Opinion of the Author's Veracity.

P. 200. *This was as far as I could penetrate into it, the State of the Court for the firſt four Years after the Reſtoration. I was in the Court a great part of the Year* 1662, 1663, *and* 1664, *and was as inquiſitive as poſſibly I could be; and had more than ordinary Occaſions to hear and ſee a great deal.* Truth will come out at laſt; it was in the Years 62, 63, and 64, that he was really at Court; but he had now forgot what he had told us before, that he was there in the Year 1660, before he was ſeventeen Years old, when he ſaw far into the Management of Affairs, *Vide p.* 40. As to his Inquiſitiveneſs, no Body can doubt that Matter; he was always impertinently prying more than became him, tho' he ſo often charges the reſt of his Order with medling in Affairs, out of the Sphere of their own Function: He might have remember'd, that he

he had arraign'd the *Scotch* Biſhops for being too often at Court, tho' their eminent Station and Rank in the Government, ſeem'd to give them a juſter Call to that Place, than any Affairs of a private and pragmatical Parſon.

P. 203, he complains of the Severities us'd againſt his Uncle *Wariſton. One of the firſt things done in this Seſſion of Parliament, was the Execution of my unfortunate Uncle* Wariſton; *he was ſo diſorder'd in Body and Mind, that it was a Reproach to a Government to proceed againſt him. His Memory was ſo gone, that he did not know his own Children. He was brought before the Parliament, to hear what he had to ſay, why his Execution ſhould not be awarded. He ſpoke long, but in a broken and diſorder'd Strain, which his Enemies fancy'd, was put on to create Pity. He was ſentenc'd to die. His Deportment was unequal, as might be expected from a Man in his Condition; yet when the Day of his Execution came, he was very ſerene, he was chearful, and ſeem'd ſatisfy'd with his Death. He read a Speech twice over on the Scaffold, that to my Knowledge he compos'd himſelf; in which he juſtify'd all the Proceedings in the* Covenant, *and aſſerted his own Sincerity; but condemn'd his joining with* Cromwell *and the Sectaries; tho' even in that, his*

Intention had been ſincere. *Lord* Lauderdale *had liv'd in great Friendſhip with him; but he ſaw the King was ſo ſet againſt him, that he, who at all times took more care of himſelf than his Friends, would not, in ſo critical a time, ſeem to favour a Man, whom the Presbyterians had ſet up as a ſort of Idol among them, and on whom they did depend more than any Man alive.* Not to dwell upon the uſual Inconſiſtencies in this Account of the Behaviour, it is a little remarkable, that a Man, who was diſorder'd in his Head before, ſhould ſo recover his Senſes, as to grow ſerene and calm at the Sight of the Gallows. If it were reaſonable and juſt to make any Examples in *Scotland*, there was not one Man in that Kingdom leſs an Object of Mercy, than the Laird of *Wariſton*, if we conſider his Conduct from the Beginning of the Troubles to the End; his mortal Inveteracy to both Kings, Father and Son; the Miſchiefs that he did them; and his conſtant Attachment to the republican Sectaries in *England:* So that if his Intereſt and Credit were ſo great, as he ſays, with the King's Enemies, that dangerous Popularity alone, was ſufficient to bar all Mercy, and make the Death of this unhappy Man not leſs neceſſary to the Safety of the King, than due to his Juſtice. Thus this injudicious Writer, ſeldom or never finds a Fault, but, thro' Inadvertency and want

of thinking, he immediately himſelf furniſhes a Juſtification of the Action he condemns.

P. 204. *There was ſome little Oppoſition made to it by the Earl of* Kinkardin, *who was an Enemy to all Perſecution: But tho' ſome few voted againſt it, it was carried by a vaſt Majority.* It is very remarkable, that the Author is always ſo unlucky, as to have but a few on his Side of the Queſtion; ſometimes but one for him, always a very great Majority againſt him. If one might argue on this Head according to Reaſon and Experience, it is to be inferr'd from thence, that what he blames, was certainly equitable and right; for we cannot conceive Mankind ſo abandon'd, nor can Hiſtory furniſh us with an Example, that in ſo numerous an Aſſembly as a Parliament, there was not always ſome Number of honeſt Men on the Side of Juſtice. In all the Hardſhips, which the Author ſo frequently condemns, it would be more for the Credit of what he maintains, if thoſe ill things had been rather carried by a Majority of one or two, than always to have no more than that Number on his, and the negative Side.

P. 205. *After theſe Acts were paſs'd, the Parliament was diſſolv'd, which gave a general Satisfaction to the Country; for they*

were a furious Set of People. This is the Compliment that he makes to the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland*, the whole repreſentative Body of the People, which conſiſted of Perſons, at this Time, of the greateſt Fortune and Intereſt in their Country. From hence it is plain, that this Biſhop of the Church of *England*, really in his Heart believ'd, that all were bad Men, who were not good Presbyterians.

P. 210. *But all thoſe Countries that lie towards the Weſt, became very fierce and intractable; and the whole Work of the Council was to deal with them, and ſubdue them. It was not eaſy to prove any thing againſt them; for they ſtuck firm to one another.* —— *The People treated them with great Contempt, and with an Averſion, that broke out often into Violence and Injuſtice. But their Miniſters on their Parts, were not wanting in their Complaints, aggravating Matters, and poſſeſſing the Biſhops with many Stories of Deſigns vnd Plottings againſt the Government: So many were brought before the Council, and the new Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, for pretended Riots, and uſing their Miniſters ill; but chiefly for not coming to Church, and holding Conventicles. The Proofs were often defective, and lay rather in Preſumptions than clear Evidence.* —— *Great Numbers were caſt*

caſt in Priſon, where they were kept long, and ill us'd; and ſometimes they were fin'd, and the younger Sort whip'd about the Streets. Here is a whole Bundle of Inconſiſtencies: In the firſt Place, he tells you himſelf, that the Weſt became very fierce and intractable; that the whole Buſineſs of the Council was to ſubdue them; and yet they did not know whom to ſubdue; for they ſtuck to one another, and it was hard to prove any thing againſt them: But the People who made the Complaint, and gave the Informations, muſt certainly know them, though they would not accuſe one another. The Miniſters, who were outrag'd, muſt know their own Pariſhioners and Neighbours who committed the Violence; they were not Blacks, and acted in Maſquerade. If there were Laws againſt not coming to Church, it was eaſy to be certain whether a Man came there or no; he could not be at Church, and at the ſame time not be viſible. After all, he complains that they were puniſh'd without legal Proofs. If their Actions were not plain and viſible, he ſhould not have affirm'd himſelf, that the Weſt grew fierce and intractable; and if the thing was apparent, they receiv'd no more than a juſt Chaſtiſement; which, on this Side Death, muſt be either pecuniary, corporal, or Impriſonment. Thus the Author, after

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he has own'd the Crime, forgets what he has ſaid, and condemns the Puniſhment.

P. 216. *I obſerv'd the Deportment of the Biſhops was in all Points ſo different from what became their Function, that I had more than ordinary Zeal kindled within me upon it. They were not only furious againſt all that ſtood out againſt them, but were very remiſs in all Parts of their Function. Some did not live within their Dioceſe; and thoſe who did, ſeem'd to take no care of them. They ſhew'd no Zeal againſt Vice. The moſt eminently wicked in the Country were their particular Confidents. They took no care to keep their Clergy ſtrictly to Rules, and to their Duty. On the contrary, there was a Levity and carnal way of living about them, that very much ſcandaliz'd me.* This Expreſſion, *Levity and carnal way of living about them*, is true Presbyterian Cant; and conſequently not the beſt *Engliſh*. Here I muſt appeal to the Reader, if any thing can be more aſtoniſhing, than that this Writer ſhould not reflect on what he had ſaid of theſe very individual Men, in his Preface to Biſhop *Bedel*'s Life, written long after this time. If he could forget what he had ſaid before, he muſt have had a very treacherous Memory, tho' he was always famous for the contrary Quality: But as it is impoſſible, except in a Lethargy, for a Man

Man not to remember a Book that he had written, we muſt aſcribe this Conduct to an Aſſurance without Example, thus to be above all dread of Cenſure, and brave Mankind. His Zeal againſt thoſe Immoralities was certainly very much cool'd, when in that Preface, he made ſuch fulſome Encomiums on theſe good Biſhops whom he now reviles; he then tells the World, that *they were an Angelical Rank of Men; that he ſaw in them ſuch things, as look'd liker fair Ideas, than what Men cloathed with Fleſh and Blood could grow up to.* Theſe two oppoſite Characters cannot both be true. As it is impoſſible to reconcile Contradictions, either Dr. **Burnet** muſt be guilty of the moſt abject Flattery, or the Biſhop of *Salisbury* of the vileſt Detraction.

Leighton & Sanc. ſeem to have deſc. his Character.

P. 217. *There was, indeed, one* Scougal *Biſhop of* Aberdeen, *that was a Man of rare Temper, great Piety, and Prudence.* Notwithſtanding this Character, he was one of the Biſhops that he abus'd as well as the reſt. The Reader will wonder to hear him ſpeak ſo well of a Biſhop who was not of his Party; but he muſt know, that this good old Gentleman, thro' a fatal Indulgence, which he heartily repented of afterward, ſav'd our Author from having his Gown ſtripp'd over his Ears, when he ſo ſcandalouſly abus'd the whole Body of the Biſhops

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in *Scotland.* This is the firſt Inſtance of his being ſenſible of Benefits; I am glad to find that he could once vanquiſh his Nature, and deviate into Gratitude. The Author gives his own Account of this Matter; by which the Action appears, as he tells the Story himſelf, impertinent and pragmatical, not more inſolent than ſeditious, and contrary to his canonical Obedience, if there were any ſuch Obligation in the Church of *Scotland.* Dr. *Cockburn* has lately ſet this Matter in a very clear Light, and will be always believ'd by the unprejudic'd Part of the World before the Author. He ſays, that Mr. **Burnet** made a very great Submiſſion; and, he believes, on his Knees; otherwiſe they would, notwithſtanding the Interceſſion of the Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, have proceeded to Extremities, with ſo inſolent a young Man but twenty-three Years old, who had thus preſum'd, in ſo ſaucy a manner, to reprove and inſtruct his Superiors. Tho' this is highly probable, that they could not be contented with a leſs Satisfaction, the good Biſhop of *Salisbury*, as if he were aſham'd of having any Grace, with his uſual Confidence, aſſerts, that he never ſubmitted. We ſhall not now determine this Point, who was in the right, Dr. *Cockburn*, or Dr. **Burnet**; but we may venture to believe him in this Part of the Story, when he owns himſelf, that he could not repent.

P. 218.

P. 218. *As soon as the War broke out, a most terrible Plague broke out also in the City of* London, *that scatter'd all the Inhabitants that were able to remove themselves elsewhere. It broke the Trade of the Nation, and swept away about one hundred thousand Souls, the greatest Havock that any Plague had made in* England. *This did dishearten all People; and coming in the very time that so unjust a War was begun, it had a dreadful Appearance. All the King's Enemies, and the Enemies of Monarchy, said, here was a manifest Character of God's heavy Displeasure upon the Nation: As indeed the ill Life the King led, and the Viciousness of the whole Court, gave but a melancholy Prospect; yet God's Ways are not our Ways. What all had seen in the Year* 1660, *ought to have silenc'd those who at this time pretended to comment on Providence.* As to the Injustice of the *Dutch* War, I have sufficiently answer'd that scandalous Assertion already: But that a Plague should happen, without being sent as a Punishment for the Wickedness of the King, it seems, is not conceivable by some People; tho' the Reigns of Queen ELIZABETH, JAMES, and CHARLES I. were all usher'd in by great Pestilences: This was severe on those virtuous and temperate Princes, who had not offended Heaven, as King CHARLES II. and his impious Court. If the Author had diligently obser-

obſerv'd our *Engliſh* Hiſtory, he would have found, that there was hardly a Space of above forty Years, ſince the Conqueſt, without ſome Plague or epidemical Diſtemper in *England;* that we have eſcap'd ſo long, as ſince the laſt, is owing to natural Cauſes, and the Accident of the Great Fire; after which, the Town being rebuilt, the Houſes are more airy, lightſome, and clean; the Streets being made much wider, have given a freer Ventilation, and conſequently the Air is meliorated. Nothing can be more diverting, than to ſee Men, who have no Religion at all, to ſerve their Ends, lay hold on the Weakneſs and Superſtition of thoſe who have too much; and aſſert that Providence, in which at the Bottom they do not believe. The Author's good Friends, whom he mentions, the Enemies to the King and Monarchy, were very ill Arguers on this Head. This ſort of Men, with the Ropes about their Necks, juſtify'd their good *Old Cauſe,* by the frequent Declaration of Heaven on their Side; not conſidering, that the ſame Providence, which had given them the deciſive Battle at *Naſeby*, had brought them at laſt to the Gallows. It is not eaſy to conceive his true Meaning, when he ſays, *What all had ſeen in the Year* 1660, *ought to have ſilenc'd thoſe, who at this time pretended to comment on Providence.* This is an intricate Sentence, and difficult to compre-

prehend ; I have examin'd it with great Care, and, conſidering the Author's Bent and Inclinations, can find no Meaning more natural, than after what they had ſeen already, in the Year 1660, they ſhould wonder at nothing that could happen; that both were equally Plagues, the preſent Sickneſs, and late Reſtoration.

The Remarker's Obſervation on the Battle of Naſeby the ſame with the Author's on the Reſtoration.

In the ſame Page, he gives an Account, of the firſt Battle with the *Dutch*; in which, contrary to the Grain, he owns that they were beaten, only to have an Occaſion, by the moſt malicious and falſe Inſinuations, to reflect on the Courage of the Duke, for not beating them more the next Day. In order to this, he would have you believe, that the Duke privately commanded ſail to be ſlaken'd in the Night. This Reflection has been ſufficently refuted by others before me ; ſo I ſhall give myſelf, and the Reader, no further Trouble in proving what ſo many thouſand Witneſſes confirm'd, the perſonal Courage of the Duke of *York* on this Occaſion: This is no more diſputed, by Men of common Ingenuity, than the want of Candor in the Author, who reviles him. He ſays, indeed, *The Duke deny'd giving any ſuch Order ; but he neither puniſh'd* Brunker *for carrying it, nor* Pen *for obeying it. He, indeed, put* Brunker *out of his Service.*

vice. This is as much as to ſay, that he did not puniſh him, and he did puniſh him. My Lord *Brunker* was neither Soldier nor Sailor, acted under no Commiſſion; and, conſequently, under no Cogniſance of martial Juſtice. He was of the Bed-chamber to the Duke, a Poſt of Truſt, Honour, and Profit, out of which he was turn'd with Diſgrace. This was all that could be done on a Civil Account; and was thought to be a Puniſhment by every one, except our good-natur'd Author.

P. 221, The Reader will be entertain'd with another Specimen of his Juſtice to the Duke of *York.* He is to give an Account of the Miſcarriage before *Bergen* in *Norway*, of which he ſays thus: *The Earl of* Sandwich *was ſent to the North with a great Part of the Fleet, to lie for the* Eaſt-India *Ships; but he was thought too remiſs. They got, before he was aware of it, into* Bergen *in* Norway; *if he had follow'd them quick, he would have forc'd the Port, and taken them all; but he obſerv'd Forms, and ſent to the Viceroy of* Norway *to demand Entrance. This was deny'd him; but while theſe Meſſages went backward and forward, the* Dutch *had ſo fortify'd the Entrance into the Port, that tho' it was attempted with great Courage, yet* Tiddiman, *and thoſe who compoſed that Squadron, were beat*

beat off with very great Loſs, and forc'd to let go a very rich Fleet; for which Lord Sandwich *was very much blam'd; tho' he was ſent Embaſſador into* Spain, *that this Diſgrace might be a little ſoftned by that Employment. The Duke's Conduct was alſo much blam'd; and it was ſaid, that he was moſt in the Fault; but that the Earl of* Sandwich *was made the Sacrifice.* I cannot doubt, but the Reader is ſufficiently convinc'd of the Author's Malice to the Duke of *York*; that he would take any Handle to miſrepreſent, and give a wrong Turn to the perſonal Actions of that Prince, every one muſt believe: But in this Caſe, he ſeems to have loſt both Memory and Reaſon, when he makes this abſurd and ſenſeleſs Reflection. The Duke was at this time at *London*, above 150 Leagues from *Bergen* in *Norway*; and yet he muſt be reſponſible for the ill Conduct of another, when, as he owns himſelf, the Succeſs of the whole Affair, depended upon taking the Opportunity of a very few Hours. However, the Duke was moſt in the Fault, and my Lord *Sandwich* ſacrific'd, becauſe that Admiral did not ruſh into the Port, as he ought to have done, without asking leave of the Vice-Roy. This is his own Account, notwithſtanding which, without conſidering the Circumſtances of Time or Place, and the Impoſſibility of what he aſſerts, his

boiling Malice runs over, and ſo drowns his Senſes, as to make him commit this unaccountable Blunder.

P. 229, He has this ſurprizing Sentence; after a full Stop, he begins another Period with theſe Words: *But to compleat the Miſeries of this Year, the Plague was ſo ſunk in* London, *that the Inhabitants began to return to it.* What he means, is paſt my Skill to diſcover; I cannot ſee any Probability of a typographical Error, without changing one Word for another, which is not a natural Miſtake; if this had been the Caſe, it would ſurely have been corrected by thoſe who had the Care of reviſing the Preſs, and put in among the *Errata*, which they would have thought fit to have printed; tho', indeed, excepting this Abſurdity, there was not much occaſion; for the Book is very correct; ſo that there is little to be laid at the Door of the Printer; all the Faults are the Author's own, who lay certainly, at this time, under ſome abſence of Mind, and thought not of what he was doing; as juſt before, when he blam'd the Duke of *York*, tho' five hundred Miles diſtant, for the Miſcarriage of my Lord *Sandwich* at *Bergen*.

In his Account of the Fire, *p.* 230, he tells us, *One* Hubert, *a* French *Papiſt, was ſeiz'd on in* Eſſex, *as he was getting out of the way in great Confuſion. He confeſs'd that*

that he began the Fire, and persisted in his Confession till his Death; for he was hang'd upon no other Evidence but his own Confession. It is true, he gave so broken an Account of the whole Matter, that he was thought mad. Here is a very great Mistake in the Religion of the Man: He was born, bred, and dy'd a Protestant, as appear'd by the Oaths of several *Frenchmen*, who knew his Parents, Birth, and Education, at *Rouen*. Nor was it less prov'd, that he had for some time before been disorder'd in his Senses, even to downright Madness. That this Man was a Protestant, is even own'd by Mr. *Eachard*, who has taken the following ridiculous Story, as he says, from a reverend Prelate, whom we may suppose to be our Author; because he gives the same Account, *p.* 231. *The most extraordinary Passage, tho' it is but a Presumption, was told me by Dr.* Floyd *and the Countess of* Clarendon; *the latter had a great Estate in the New River that is brought from* Ware *to* London, *which is brought together at* Islington. *There was one* Grant, *a Papist,* ——— *he had some time before apply'd himself to* Floyd, *who had great Credit with the Countess of* Clarendon, *and said, that he could raise that Estate considerably, if she would make him a Trustee for her.* ——— *He went thither the* Saturday *before the Fire broke out, and call'd for the Key of the Place where the*

Heads of the Pipes were, and turn'd all the Cocks that were then open, and ſtopt the Water and went away, and carry'd the Keys with him; ſo when the Fire broke out the next Morning, they open'd the Pipes in the Streets to find Water, but there was none; and ſome Hours were loſt in ſending to Iſlington, *where the Door was to be broke open, and the Cocks turn'd; and it was long before the Water got to* London. Grant, *indeed, deny'd that he turn'd the Cocks; but the Officer of the Works affirm'd that he had, according to Order, ſet them all a running; and that no Perſon had got the Keys from him beſides* Grant, *who confeſs'd he had carry'd away the Keys, but pretended he did it without Deſign.* Before I proceed with the Detection of this Forgery, I muſt beg the Reader's Patience, to let me make ſome Remarks on the Barbarity of this Stile; as I have tax'd him with this Defect in the Beginning of my Book, I would charge him with nothing that I cannot juſtify; in order to which, I muſt deſire the Reader to take notice of ſome Sentences in this laſt Paragraph, *viz.* "the "*New River* that is brought from *Ware* to "*London*, which is brought together at *If-*"*lington* ——— and call'd for the Key of "the Place where the Heads of the Pipes were, "and turn'd all the Cocks that were then o-"pen, and ſtopt the Water and went away,

and

" and carry'd the Keys with him." Here, in three Lines, the Conjunction Copulative, *and*, is repeated five times ſucceſſively, without any change of the Conſtruction. How great a Solæciſm this is in *Syntax*, every School-Boy can tell; and how untunable, the Ear of the Reader will beſt decide. Beſides this, he often repeats the Adverb *ſo* ſeveral times together, in his Narration, tho' it ſignifies nothing to the Senſe. This is the Fault of the moſt vulgar and illiterate People in common Diſcourſe. But what is worſt of all, is, his frequent ending, not only Sentences, but ſometimes Periods, with Præpoſitions, *in*, *at*, *up*, *with*, *for*, *to*, *by*, &c. This Negligence, or rather Ignorance, ſhews him to be as uncorrect, as ſome other Defects, an injudicious Writer. But to return to his Tale: Here is a formal Account, which, if not true, requir'd a fruitful Invention to coin ſuch a Story, attended with ſo many Circumſtances; but we will convict him with a Record. Iſlington, March 3, 172^{3}, *Captain* John Grant *admitted a Member of the* New-River *Company, on* Tueſday, September 25, 1666. The Conveyance of the Stock have preceded the Admitt

No particular Member of the Company, has Power to order the Main to be ſhut down; nor can it ever be done, without a particular Direction of the Board, of which Minutes are always taken; and there are

no Minutes of this, as will appear by the Company's Books.

Grant's Admittance on the 25th of *September*, twenty-three Days after the Fire, could have given him no more Authority at *Iſlington*, the ſecond of that Month, than if it happen'd but Yeſterday; the difference of Time, in this Caſe, was the ſame, as if it had been a Platonick Revolution.

WHAT Man of Probity, without better Grounds, would have tranſmitted to Poſterity a Story, ſo cruelly injurious to the Memory of an honeſt and innocent Man? He owns himſelf that he had it from an old Woman; and it ſounds, indeed, like an old Woman's Tale. His other Evidence is not much better, his good Friend the old Prophet, who, though he could foretell what was to come, was not ſure, it ſeems, of the paſt. Tho' this reverend Witneſs was a Conjurer in Chronology, and that ſort of Learning, in ſome reſpects he was a very weak Man, credulous to the laſt Degree; capable of believing any thing, tho' never ſo abſurd, of a Papiſt; and not the moſt tender in reporting the Story on the ſlighteſt Authority.

HE now proceeds to give an Account of the Rebellion, that broke out in *Scotland*, at

at this time. This ſhews the Villany of the Men, who took this Opportunity to riſe in Arms, when *England* was under ſuch a Diſtraction and Calamity. The Author treats theſe Miſcreants with ſo much Tenderneſs, as if he would juſtify the Action, if he durſt. *P.* 236, he thus bemoans their Death, when they were brought to condign Puniſhment for their Crimes: *It was a moving Sight to ſee ten of the Priſoners hang'd upon one Gibbet at* Edenburgh, *thirty-five more were ſent to their Counties, and hang'd up before their own Doors, their Miniſters all the while uſing them hardly, and declaring them damn'd for their Rebellion. They might all have ſav'd their Lives, if they would have renounc'd the* Covenant. Nothing is more aſtoniſhing than the Partiality of this Man, in reproaching the Government for acting in their own Defence, by making Examples of thoſe incorrigible Wretches, whom no repeated Acts of Mercy and Indulgence could reclaim. The Author had ſurely forgotten the Cruelty of the *Covenanters* to the *Cavaliers*, only for acting by the Commiſſion of their lawful Prince, which certainly very much alter'd the Caſe. When thoſe wicked Men were in Power, *Scotland* ſaw her nobleſt Blood ſhed by the Hangman after another manner, if we can believe Sir *George Mackenzie*, who was in all reſpects, as much more reputable

as he was a greater Man than the Author. *Mackenzie's Vindication, p.* 23, *Marqueſſes of* Huntly and Montroſs, *Preſident* Spotſwood, Haddo, *and ſeven hundred Gentlemen more, who dy'd by their* Juſtice Court, *when their* Covenant *over-rul'd Law and Equity*; *four hundred and fifty Gentlemen and Commoners who dy'd by the* Juſtice-Court *of* Argyle. Beſides, the ſame Author tells you in another Place, that theſe godly *Covenanters*, in cold Blood, at one time, flung fourſcore poor Women over the Bridge at *Lithgow*, only for following *Montroſs's* Camp. Theſe were Executions with a Vengeance, of which no Hiſtory, in any Chriſtian Country, can furniſh an Example. After this, the Author needed not have made ſuch a Stir, for the Death of forty-five mean Perſons, out of two thouſand, who had forfeited their Lives to the Laws: Though I very much queſtion, whether or no there were ſo many as forty-five put to death at this time; 'till I have better Authority, than the Word of an Author, who, as he has ſo often prevaricated in the moſt notorious Matters of Fact, may be ſuppos'd not to be over-ſcrupulous in adding or diminiſhing Numbers. On this Occaſion, the learned Biſhop gives us a Spice of his Divinity, in cenſuring the Miniſters, for telling theſe Men that they would be damn'd if they dy'd without Repentance.

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With the reverend Author's Leave, this was certainly true, ſound, and chriſtian Doctrine, if we believe the holy Scriptures, which have pronounc'd this Sentence on all who die impenitent; eſpecially in ſo mortal a Sin as Rebellion, which the Spirit of God has thought fit to compare with that of Witchcraft. He ſays they might have been ſav'd, if they would have renounc'd the *Covenant*: This ſhews the merciful Diſpoſition of that Government, and the invincible Obſtinacy of thoſe Men; a Madneſs, which would have been leſs unaccountable, if the Author had been their Confeſſor.

P. 237. *They did all at their Death give their Teſtimony, according to their Phraſe, to the* Covenant, *and to all that had been done purſuant to it; and they expreſs'd great Joy in their Sufferings. Moſt of them were but mean and inconſiderable Men in all reſpects; yet even theſe were firm and inflexible in their Perſuaſion. Many of them eſcap'd, notwithſtanding the great Search that was made for them.* Guthry, *the chief of their Preachers, was hid in my Mother's Houſe, who was bred to her Brother* Wariſton's *Principles, and could never be mov'd from them.* The laſt Part of this Paragraph will paſs without Contradiction. By this it is evident, that good Mrs. **Burnet** was truly deſcended from *Rachel Arnot*, by keep-

keeping a Maſter *Bruce* in her Houſe, as well as her Grandmother. If the Laws of *Scotland* are as ſevere as thoſe of *England*, in the Caſe of harbouring Traitors, we have another Inſtance of Treaſon committed by the Ladies of this Family. That Mrs. **Burnet** retain'd the Principles of her Brother, and her Son *Gilbert* thoſe of his Mother, are both alike indiſputable. I ſhould not have taken notice of this Trifle, but to chaſtiſe the Vanity of the Author, who is always talking of himſelf and his Family; nor would he have mention'd this Story of his Mother, but that he believ'd the Action meritorious.

In the ſame Page, he entertains the Reader with the Execution of one of their Preachers. On this Occaſion, the Author ſeems animated with an uncommon Tranſport of Admiration. *One* Macail, *who was only a Probationer Preacher, and who had been Chaplain to Sir* James Steward's *Houſe, had gone from* Edenburgh *to them. He bore the Torture with great Conſtancy; and either he could ſay nothing, or he had Firmneſs not to diſcover thoſe who had truſted him. Every Man of them could have ſav'd his own Life, if he would accuſe any other; but they were all true to their Friends.* Macail, *for all the Pains of the Torture, dy'd in a Rapture of Joy. His laſt Words were:* "Farewel Sun, Moon, and Stars; farewel

"Kin-

" Kindred and Friends ; farewel World and " Time ; farewel weak and frail Body ; wel- " come Eternity ; welcome Angels and Saints ; " welcome Saviour of the World ; welcome " God the Judge of all." *Which he ſpoke with a Voice and manner, that ſtruck all that heard it.* Here the Author is all Rapture, and ſeems carried away with an emulous Fervor at the aſtoniſhing Behaviour of theſe poor deluded Creatures, who dy'd in Impenitence; which he is ſo far from cenſuring, that on the other hand, one would think that he was writing a Martyrology of the Primitive Chriſtians, and adorning the Memory of the Saints who ſuffer'd under *Nero* and *Dioclesian:* But it is no wonder, after pitying the Regicides in *England*, that he ſhould have the ſame Bowels, and Sentiments of Tenderneſs, for the Brethren in *Scotland.*

It is certain, that the laſt dying Words of this unhappy Man, are pathetically moving; and, if he had ſuffer'd for a leſs hainous Cauſe, would juſtly have rais'd Compaſſion ; which can only reſult from a firm Belief that the Party is injur'd in not being guilty ; or, when by his Behaviour and Repentance he ſo atones, as to make the Spectator forget the Crime, and the Penitent deſerve to be innocent. But Atheiſm has had its Votaries and Martyrs, as well as Religion ;

gion; and we have Inſtances of Men, who have dy'd with as great Firmneſs and Reſolution in denying the Exiſtence of a God, where there could be no Hopes of a Reward, as the Apoſtles themſelves in aſſerting the Truths of Chriſtianity. This Behaviour of the firſt, undoubtedly rais'd Admiration; but it was an Admiration attended with Horror, and not with Pity.

THE Author is too partial to his own Countrymen, the *Scotch* Presbyterians; he dwells too long on their Praiſes, without having done the ſame Juſtice to our *Engliſh Vennor*, and his Fifth-Monarchy Men, who dy'd with the ſame Reſolution, acting againſt the ſame Prince, and for the ſame Cauſe, *viz.* the Setting of Chriſt upon his Throne, and breaking the Powers of the Earth. If it ſhould be objected, that there were no People in *Scotland* of ſuch Principles, by and by, in proper Time and Place, we will bring undeniable Inſtances of the ſame, if not greater Madneſs, in that Country.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Provocation given by this new Rebellion, at a time when *England* was ſo diſtreſt by two Calamities, the Plague, and afterwards the Fire; the Author continues his Invectives againſt the *Scotch* Adminiſtration both in Church and

and State, of which his Accounts are so partial and unjust, as to leave it doubtful, whether they are more false or malicious. But Sir *George Mackenzie*, who was even a better Divine that the Author, as well as a Lawyer, has so satisfactorily vindicated the Conduct of that Government, in all Transactions both Civil and Spiritual, that what Dr. **Burnet** condemns as Severity, was rather Lenity, an Indolence in the Administration, that often had like to have prov'd very fatal; they scarce defended themselves; and if they had succumb'd under those frequent Attacks, would rather have deserv'd the Name of *Felo's de se*, than Tyrants. Not content to abuse the Civil Government, and the great Men in the Church, he falls at the same time most furiously on the inferior Clergy; but the Reader by this time, is sufficiently acquainted with the Temper of the Man, and consequently, cannot think it strange, after daring to censure the Morals of the greatest and most pious Prelates in *England*, that he should have no more Mercy on the poor Curates in *Scotland*; but so great is the Inconsistency of this Author, that he constantly forgets, and contradicts himself before his Ink is dry: He just now represented the Presbyterians, as poor harmless Men, made mad by Oppression; on which Account, he seems

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to juſtify their frequent Rebellions; but now he plainly ſhews us that they were made in another Mould, not leſs rampant and untractable on Indulgence, than furious and ungovernable under pretended Perſecution; like ſome curſt and ill-natur'd Curs, that will bite the Hand which ſtrokes, as well as that which corrects them; for *p.* 247, he gives them this Character: *The Presbyterians ſeeing a ſoftning in the Execution of the Law, and obſerving that the Archbiſhops were jealous of Lord* Twedale, *fancy'd that he was theirs in his Heart: Upon that they grew very inſolent; the Clergy was in many Places ill us'd by them.* After this Confeſſion, when they come to be puniſh'd for theſe Miſdemeanors, he will immediately arraign the Government; as if he thought that his Friends were not reſponſible to the Laws, and that an Impunity for Crimes committed by the Saints, as well as Dominion, was founded in Grace.

P. 261, He mentions a Deſign, which was at this Time ſet on Foot, to divorce K. CHARLES from Q. *Catherine*; on this Occaſion he tells us, *Other Stories were given out of the Queen's Perſon, which were falſe; for I ſaw a Letter under the King's own Hand, that the Marriage was conſummated; others talk'd of Polygamy:*

Polygamy: *Lord* Lauderdale, *and Sir* Robert Murray, *ask'd my Opinion of these things*; *I said I knew speculative People could say a great deal, in the way of Argument, for Polygamy and Divorce: Yet these things were so decry'd, that they were rejected by all Christian Societies.* After owning thus himself, that Polygamy and Divorce were unlawful, and rejected by all Christian Societies, could any Man believe, that this very Author had taken the Pains, to write two Arguments in Defence of both? first of Divorce in case of Barrenness, and of Polygamy in general, without any such Motive: These Papers he put into the Hands of Lord *Lauderdale*, and others, with an Intent to further the Design and defend the Injustice. This Contradiction of himself, in now denying what he had justify'd before, shews the Integrity of the Man, as the Arguments themselves the Orthodoxy of the Divine, in opposing the whole Torrent of Antiquity, the Decrees of the Church, and the unanimous Opinion of Civilians, Canonists, Casuists, and Divines, in all Ages. We will entertain the Reader with one of these Papers, which are entitled, *Dr. Gilbert* **Burnet**'*s Resolution of two important Cases of Conscience.* Question the first. Is a Woman's Barrenness a just Ground for a Divorce, or for Polygamy? In this of Barrenness, there

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are ſome Expreſſions ſo indecent, as would offend the fair Sex; for which reaſon, we ſhall omit the Diſcuſſion of this Caſe in regard to the Ladies, who may do us the Honour to read theſe Remarks.

THE ſecond Queſtion Is, is Polygamy in any Caſe lawful under the Goſpel? Reſolv'd.

For anſwer it is to be conſider'd, that Marriage is a Contract founded upon the Laws of Nature, its End being the Propagation of Mankind; and the Formality of doing it by Churchmen, is only a ſupervenient Benediction, or pompous ſolemnizing of it; and therefore the Nature of Marriage, and not any Forms us'd in the Celebration of it, is to be conſider'd. It's true, the Caſe is harder when any is married by ſuch a Form as binds him to one Woman, than when he is bound only by the tye of Marriage conceived in general Terms. The Caſe of Mankind ſince the Fall varies very much from what it was in Innocency; for then the Soundneſs of their Bodies, and the Purity of their Minds, did keep out of the way, all the Hazards of Barrenneſs, Sickneſs, Uncleanneſs, or Croſſneſs of Humour; and therefore a ſingle Marriage, as being the perfecteſt Coalition of Friendſhip and Intereſt was pro-

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per to that State; and so God made but one Woman for one Man: But upon the Fall, the Case varied hugely, and Frigidity, Barrenness, Unchastity, Crossness of Humours, made the former Law not so proper for the following Race of Mankind: Yet still a single Marriage was the perfecter, as being nearer the Original. Before the Flood we find Lamech *a Polygamist; such were* Abraham *and* Jacob *after it; so that this was not indulg'd by* Moses; *for all that he did relating to this, was only to allow of Divorce, which was a Proviso for the Hardness of the* Israelites *Hearts: Every Man was bound to maintain whom he had once married; lest therefore such as design'd another Wife, and could not maintain the former, might use indirect Ways to be rid of them, this fair one of Divorce was allow'd of by God; and this Polygamy was practis'd without either Allowance or Controul, as the natural Right of Mankind. Neither is it any where mark'd among the Blemishes of the Patriarchs;* David's *Wives (and Store of them he had) are termed by the Prophet, God's Gift to him: Yea, Polygamy was made, in some Cases, a Duty by* Moses's *Law; when any dy'd without Issue, his Brother, or neareſt Kinsman, was to marry his Wife for raising up Seed to him; and all were oblig'd to obey this*

under the Hazard of the Infamy if they refus'd it; neither is there any Exceptions made for such as were marry'd; from whence I may faithfully conclude, that what God made neceſſary in ſome Caſes to any degree, can in no caſe be ſinful in itſelf, ſince God is holy in all his Ways: And thus far it appears that Polygamy is not contrary to the Law and Nature of Marriage. But it is next to be examin'd, if it is forbidden under the Goſpel. It is certain, our Lord deſign'd to raiſe Mankind to the higheſt Degrees of Purity and Chaſtity; and therefore our Lord and St. Paul *do prefer a ſingle Life to a married State, as that which qualifies us for the Kingdom of Heaven, and was loaded with the feweſt Incumbrances; and by this Rule, a ſingle Marriage being next to none at all, is certainly moſt ſuitable to the Goſpel; but a ſimple and expreſs Diſcharge of Polygamy is no where to be found: It is true, our Lord diſcharges Divorces, except in the Caſe of Adultery; adding, that whoſoever puts away his Wife upon any other Account, commits Adultery, ſo* St. Luke *and* St. Matthew *in one Place have it; or commits Adultery, againſt her, ſo* St. Mark *has it; or cauſes her to commit Adultery, ſo* St. Matthew *in another Place. If it be then Adultery to take another Woman after an unjuſt Divorce, it will follow, that the Wife has that Right to the Husband's Body, that he muſt touch no other. This is indeed plauſible; and is all that*

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can be brought from the New Testament, *which seems convincing: Yet it will not be found of Weight; for it is to be consider'd, that if our Lord had been to antiquate Polygamy, it being so deeply rooted in the* Men *of that Age, confirm'd by such famous and unquestion'd Precedents, and rivetted by so long a Practice, he must have done it plainly and authoritatively; and not in such an involv'd* Manner, *that it must be sought out of his Words by the search of Logick; neither are these dark Words made more clear by any of the Apostles in their Writings. Words are to be carried no further than the Design upon which they were written will lead them to; so that our Lord being in that Place to strike out Divorces so explicitely, we must not by a Consequence condemn Polygamy, since it seems not to have fallen within the Scope of what our Lord does there disprove. Besides, the Term Adultery may be taken in general for such a Breach of Wedlock, as is equivalent to Adultery; and such is an unjust* Divorce. *This may be the Importance of the Phraise used by* St. Mark, he committeth Adultery againſt her; *or all may be better explain'd by the Phrase* St. Matthew *uses about it, in one Place,* he causes her to commit Adultery; *since he that exposeth and tempteth to sin, shares in the Guilt with the Person that succumbs: And from this it appears, that Polygamy is not declar'd Adultery, neither in the Place cited, nor any other that I know of.*

But it is true that Polygamy falls ſhort of the Intendment of Marriage in Innocency, to which State, we that are under the Goſpel, muſt return as near as it is poſſible. It is to be confeſt, that Polygamy was much condemn'd by the Ancients; tho' I think I have met with ſomething about it that is little notic'd; but of that, I can adventure to ſay nothing at this Diſtance from my Books and Papers: But all that being granted, it is to be conſider'd, that the Ancients were unjuſt and ſevere againſt Marriage, and did exceſſively favour the Celibate; ſo that in ſome Places, they who married the ſecond time, were put to do Penance for it: And, indeed, both Jew *and* Gentile *had run into ſuch Exceſs, by their free Commixtures, that it is no Wonder if the holy Men of theſe Ages, being provok'd to a juſt Zeal againſt ſuch unjuſt Practices, muſt have been carried thro' the immoderate ſwaying of the Counterpoiſe into ſome Extreams on the other Hand: Therefore to conclude this ſhort Anſwer, wherein many things are hinted, which might have been enlarg'd to a Volume, I ſee nothing ſo ſtrong againſt Polygamy as to ballance the great and viſible emminent Hazards that hang over ſo many thouſands, if it be not allow'd.*

THE Reſolution of theſe two Caſes, is atteſted by Dr. *Paterſon* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*,

gow, in the following Form, under his Hand and Epiſcopal Seal Manual :

AT *Edenburgh*, this fifth Day of *Janu-ary* one thouſand ſeven hundred and three Years. That the above-written Reſolution of theſe two Caſes, *viz.* (is a Woman's Barrenneſs a juſt Ground for Divorce, or Polygamy ; and is Polygamy in any Caſe lawful under the Goſpel ?) contain'd in this and the two foregoing Pages, is a true Copy of what I ſaw, read and Copy'd, from the original Manuſcript written with Dr. *Gilbert* **Burnet**'s own Hand ; and which I copy'd over at *Ham*, in the Year 1680 ; the Original being then in the Poſſeſſion of the late Duke of *Lauderdale*, by whoſe Allowance and Conſent, I took a Copy of it, I do hereby ſolemnly atteſt, as Witneſs my Hand and Seal, Day, Year, and Place, above written

J. Glaſgow, L. S.

Why did Duke Lauderdale never diſcover this. Since he diſcovered matters communicated to him by Dr Burnet in confidence. Hist. 362. 363.

THIS Copy is taken from the Original atteſted by the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, now in Poſſeſſion of the honourable *Archibald Campbell*, where it may be ſeen, if there is Occaſion.

THE Heterodoxy of theſe Opinions muſt be left to Divines and Caſuiſts, whoſe Province it is to confute them. But we can-

not part with this Subject without making one Remark: He allows Croſſneſs of Humour to be one Reaſon for Plurality of Wives. But with Submiſſion, we cannot think that a good Argument to induce any one to make a new Trial; one Scold is enough in a Houſe; and when a Man is ſo unfortunate as to meet with that ill Quallity in one Woman, the Devil is in him if he ventures on another.

When the Author gave theſe Papers to Duke *Lauderdale*, with an Intention to juſtify that wicked Deſign of repudiating Queen Katharine, it is hardly credible, that he told his Patron, that what he had maintain'd was ſo unlawful, as to be rejected by all Chriſtian Societies. That theſe were his own true Sentiments of this Matter is certain. As he thought fit to marry three Wives in his Life, if the Laws would have allow'd, conſidering the Frame of the Man in Body and Mind, no doubt can be made, but that he would have been infinitely pleas'd to have had his little Seraglio, and enjoy'd them all three together.

P. 262. *At this time the Court fell into much Extravagance in Maſquerading; both King and Queen and all the Court went about mask'd; and came into Houſes unknown, and danc'd there with a great deal of wild Fro-*

Frolick; in all this People were ſo diſguis'd, that without being in the Secret none could diſtinguiſh them. They were carried about in Hackney-Chairs. Once the Queen's Chairmen, not knowing who ſhe was, went from her; ſo ſhe was alone, and much diſturb'd, and came to Whitehall *in a Hackney Coach, ſome ſay it was in a Cart.* This is a ſmart Attack upon the Court; and ſhews the Doctor's profound Knowledge even in Maſquerades. Firſt, *They were ſo diſguis'd that no Body could diſtinguiſh them.* If that had not been their Intention, they would not have been in Maſquerade. Ah, but *they went about in Hackney-Chairs* for the very ſame Reaſon; if they had gone in their own, every Body would have known them. But the Cream of the Jeſt is, that the Queen went home in a Cart. This is all the Author's own; and he thought it an extraordinary Flight of Wit and Satyr, without conſidering the Abſurdity of the thing. Every one, who is acquainted with the Town of *London*, knows, that no Carts, except Gold-finders, ply in the Streets late at Night, tho' Coaches and Chairs may be had at any Hours.

The remaining part of this Paragraph is equally as ſilly: *The Duke of* Buckingham *propos'd to the King, that he would give him Leave to ſteal her away, and ſend her to a*

Plantation, where ſhe ſhould be well and carefully look'd to; but never heard of more: So it ſhould be given out that ſhe had deſerted; and upon that, it would fall in with ſome Principles to carry an Act for a Divorce, grounded upon pretence of wilful Deſertion. This is a Stretch of Politicks beyond all the *Machiaviels* that ever were. If this Story can be true, none but ſuch an extravagant Man as the Duke of *Buckingham*, was capable of ſaying ſo ridiculous a thing in Jeſt; and none but ſuch an Hiſtorian as Dr. **Burnet** to tell it again in earneſt. To ſteal private Children was formerly uſual; but to Kidknap a Queen, attended with ſo many Guards, is ſomewhat new and extraordinary. In this Caſe, that ſhe ſhould never be heard of any more, we muſt ſuppoſe, that her numerous Family of Servants, who depended on her, would never enquire after their Miſtreſs, any more than her Friends and Relations in *Portugal*. How to clear the Author, and bring this Project within the Bounds of Poſſibility, will be no eaſy Matter; unleſs we imagine that they might ſurpriſe this poor Princeſs in her Cart, and then the Thing would be feaſible.

P. 264. Speaking of my Lord *Rocheſter*, he ſays, *That he found out a Footman that knew all the Court; and he furniſh'd him with*

with a red Coat and a Musket, as a Centinel; and kept him all the Winter long every Night, at the Doors of ſuch Ladies as he believ'd might be in Intrigues. All Centinels are poſted and reliev'd by Corporals; if the Perſons themſelves, or their Servants, had not diſcover'd the extraordinary Honour that was done them, by this new Mark of Diſtinction at their Door, the Corporals, when they went their Rounds to relieve the Centinels, would ſoon have detected the counterfeit Red-coat, and have carried him Priſoner to the Guard. So ridiculous a Story was never told by a Man of Senſe before. This ſhews the Credulity and Ignorance of this Writer, who, for want of Judgment to diſtinguiſh between what is probable and what is abſurd, often believes common-place Stories, runs away with the little Chit-chat of the meaneſt People, and with theſe Impertinencies thinks to embelliſh his Memoirs. We ſhall hereafter have more remarkable Inſtances of his picking up Coffee-Houſe Stories, and perpetuating to Poſterity the Lies of the Day, which, without ſuch a Regiſter as the Author, generally expire as ſoon as they are born.

P. 272. *No ſooner was the King at eaſe, and had his Fleet put in good caſe, and his Stores and Magazines well furniſh'd, than he immediately fell to negotiating with*

France,

France, *both to ruin* Holland, *and ſubvert the Government of* England.

THIS Deſign in the King, of ſubverting the Liberties of *England*, has often, with a ſurprizing Temerity, been charg'd on this Prince by the Author. That the Affront at *Chatham* ſtuck in his Stomach is no Wonder; and if he had a mind to chaſtiſe the *Dutch* for that Indignity, it was but Prudence to fortify himſelf with ſtrong Alliances; all wiſe Princes and Governments, on the ſame Occaſion, uſe the ſame Precautions; but when they take theſe Meaſures, it is not to be inferr'd from thence, that they muſt conſequently have a Deſign on the Liberties of their own People. This is all the Reaſon he ſeems to aſſign, *viz.* the Alliance with *France*, for this unjuſt Charge on CHARLES II. If the Reputation of private Men is dearer than Life, that of great Princes is certainly as ſacred. Till the charitable Author thinks fit to give us ſome more plauſible Reaſons, ſome greater Motives of Credibility to influence our Faith in this Matter, we muſt beg his Excuſe, if we cannot believe him. If this King had really ſuch wicked Deſigns, it is ſtrange that he ſhould never attempt to put them in Execution; he had it in his Power to have gone a great way, if we may credit the Author's own Accounts; a wicked Miniſtry, a corrupt Parliament devoted to the Court, and a

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ſtrict Alliance with the ſtrongeſt Power in *Europe* to back him, muſt needs have put him in ſuch a Situation, as probably to have enabled him to carry his Point, if he had been capable of forming ſo unjuſt a Project. All the World knows, that this cautious Prince rejected the arbitrary Schemes of my Lord *Shaftsbury*, which Virtue had like to have coſt him ſo dear; his habit of Life, his Manners and Conduct, his Indolence and Averſion to Enterprizes of Hazard, plainly confute the Abſurdity of this Accuſation againſt CHARLES II. who, if he had been carried away by no other Luſt, but that of Power, might have made as good a Chriſtian as he was a King. This Averſion to King CHARLES, which is evident by ſo conſtant a Train of Calumny, is not the moſt unaccountable Part of Dr. **Burnet**'s Conduct; ill Men will always gratify their Revenge at the Expence of their Honour and Conſcience. The great Penetration and Knowledge of Men, peculiar to this Prince, made him, ſooner than others, diſcover the Cloven-foot of the Author: This he thought fit to communicate to his Brother, and to warn him to be on his Guard againſt ſo dangerous a Man. This the good Chriſtian Biſhop could never forgive; *Manet alta Mente repoſtum*. But for his Injuſtice to the Duke of *York*, no tolerable Reaſon can be ſurmis'd; that Prince loaded him with

Favours,

Favours, and never diſoblig'd him; had the Goodneſs to protect him, and take his part, when all Men of Honour had abandon'd him. Nor was this all, would have employ'd his Intereſt to have got him Preferment; to all which Bounties we have ſeen the impious Return that he has made. As we cannot account for this Conduct, we muſt have recourſe to the Accidents in Nature, who is ſometimes irregular, and produces monſtrous Minds, as well as Bodies.

P. 273, He gives us the Reaſon of his wonderful Eſteem for Dr. *Leighton.* Leighton *was the only Perſon among the Biſhops who declar'd for theſe Methods.* In the next Page he gives you the Particulars. *He propos'd, that the Church ſhould be govern'd by the Biſhops and their Clergy mixing together in the Church Judicatory, in which the Biſhop ſhould act only as a Preſident, and be determin'd by a Majority of the Presbyters, both in Matters of Jurisdiction and Ordination. And that the Presbyterians ſhould be allow'd, when they ſat down firſt in theſe Judicatories, to declare, that their ſitting under a Biſhop was ſubmitted to by them only for Peace ſake with a Reſervation of their Opinion, with relation to any ſuch Preſidency; and that no negative Vote ſhould be claim'd by the Biſhop. That Biſhop's ſhould go to the Churches, in which ſuch as*

were

were to be ordain'd were to ſerve, and hear and diſcuſs any Exceptions that were made to them, and ordain them with the Concurrence of the Presbytery. That ſuch as were to be ordain'd ſhould have Leave to declare their Opinion, if they thought the Biſhop was only the Head of the Presbyters. And he alſo propoſed that there ſhould be provincial Synods, to ſit in Courſe every third Year, or oftner, if the King ſhould ſummon them; in which Complaints of the Biſhops ſhould be receiv'd, and they ſhould be cenſur'd accordingly. The Laws that ſettled Epiſcopacy, and the Authority of a national Synod, were to be alter'd according to this Scheme. The Author has told us before, that *Leighton* conſulted him in all theſe Matters: So that according to this *Leightonian* and **Burnettian** Scheme, Epiſcopacy was to be melted down into the Dregs of Presbytery. This would have been a noble Hierarchy, indeed, where the Biſhop was a perfect Cypher, without the Authority of a preſent Moderator in the General Aſſemblies. The obliging them to go to the Place of Ordination in the reſpective Pariſhes, was a little ſevere; eſpecially in our Author, who would not allow the *Scotch* Biſhops the uſe of Coaches. As we muſt ſuppoſe them generally old Men, and liable to the Infirmities of Age, Gout, or Stone, which might have prevented their being able to ride on Horſe-

Horſe-back, they muſt have been forc'd to have walk'd on Foot to every Ordination in a large Dioceſs; this would have been a fine Employment for poor old Men. After this Account, which he has given in this poſthumous Work, the Reader will be very much ſurpriz'd to hear, that this very Author abſolutely deny'd this Story of his Friend *Leighton* above fifty Years ago; by which we may ſee, that his whole Life has been one uninterrupted Scene of Diſingenuity, and how little we can depend on the Credit of a Man, who will ſay and unſay the very ſame things, according as his preſent Views and Intereſt led him. The reverend and learned Dr. *Hicks*, whoſe Probity was unexceptionable, has given us the following Account of this Inſincerity, in a Diſcourſe on Dr. **Burnet**, *&c.* above thirty Years paſt. *It was upon the Score of Latitudinarianiſm and myſtical Devotion, that he lov'd to extol Dr.* Leighton, *tho', by ſome Canons he has cited in his* Hiſtory of the Rights of Princes, *he was an Uſurper of the See of* Glaſgow ——— *His admir'd Dr.* Leighton *was ſo great a Libertine in Comprehenſion, that he freely offer'd to tranſact all things in the Government of the Church, with his Presbyters, by plurality of Suffrages; ſtrictly ſpeaking, as if he were no more than a Presbyter among them. Archbiſhop* **Burnet**, *into whoſe Chair he intruded, told Doctor*

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Gunning, *Biſhop of Ely, this Story of his Intruder; and he wondring, that any Biſhop ſhould give up that Power, without which he could not act as a Biſhop, asked Dr.* **Burnet** *the truth of it, which he poſitively deny'd; This Denyal of his, oblig'd the good Archbiſhop for his Vindication, to refer Biſhop* Gunning *to a Book he had left with a Friend, for the Truth of what he had told him of the comprehenſive Latitude of Dr.* Leighton. *I ſaw the Book, and remember it was printed at* Glaſgow, *and it ſo fully ſatisfy'd the Biſhop, that he took it home with him; but before he went, made ſome Reflections on the Ingenuity of Dr.* **Burnet.**

In the following Pages, the Author gives a long Account of the Indulgence granted by the Government to the *Scotch* Presbyterians, and of the brutal Ingratitude of theſe People, who would not accept the Favours offer'd, but flew in the Face of Authority. Their Conduct on this Occaſion was ſo extravagant, by his own Confeſſion, as to juſtify any future Severity in the Adminiſtration towards a Set of Men, who could not deſerve that Quarter which they would not take.

P. 301, He relates the Arrival of the Dutcheſs of *Orleans* in *England*; as to her Deſign in taking this Journey he gives this

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Account: *The King's Siſter, the Dutcheſs of* Orleans, *was thought the wittieſt Woman in* France. *The King of* France *had made love to her, with which ſhe was highly incens'd, when ſhe ſaw it was only a Pretence to cover his Addreſſes to Madamoiſelle* La Valiere, *one of her Maids of Honour, whom he declar'd afterwards openly to be his Miſtreſs: Yet ſhe had reconcil'd herſelf to the King, and was now ſo entirely truſted by him, that he order'd her to propoſe an Interview with her Brother at* Dover. *The King went thither, and was ſo much charmed with his Siſter, that every thing ſhe propos'd, and every Favour ſhe ask'd, was granted, the King could deny her nothing. She propoſed an Alliance in order to the Conqueſt of* Holland. *The King had a Mind to have begun at home; but ſhe diverted him from that. It could not be foreſeen, what Difficulties the King might meet with upon the firſt opening the Deſign: As it would alarm all his People, ſo it would ſend a great deal of Wealth and Trade, and, perhaps, much People over to* Holland; *and by ſuch an Acceſſion they would grow ſtronger as he would grow weaker. So ſhe propoſed that they ſhould begin with* Holland, *and attack it vigorouſly, both by Sea and Land; and by their Succeſs in that, all the reſt would be an eaſy Work. This Account of that Negotiation was printed twelve Years after at* Paris, *by one Abbot* Primi.

No

No Body can believe that the Dutchess of *Orleans*, let her Errand be what it will, brought over any Papers of Instructions, that might be suppos'd to pass thro' Offices; what she had to say was by Word of Mouth; and how any one could pretend to know what pass'd between her and her Brother in his Closet, is a little difficult to conceive. The Author acknowledges to have no other Vouchers, but what he read in a Libel printed at *Paris* twelve Years afterward, and written by a scandalous *French Abbé*, who was flung into a Dungeon for making this Story. But not content to make this Princess an Enemy to her native Country, to gratify his Itch of telling Stories, he barbarously attacks the Honour of so great a Woman, and makes her a common Prostitute; and this upon no other Foundation than a Hearsay; he had it from one, who had it from another, who was well inform'd of the Matter. Without a better Authority, a Man of common Probity, would not take away the Reputation of an Oyster-Woman; especially not go out of his way to injure any one that might be innocent, by thus impertinently, by Head and Shoulders, hawling in a Story foreign to his Book, if it had been never so true. Without regard to the illustrious Blood in her Veins, he cruelly worries the Memory of a Daughter of *England*, Sister to two of our Kings, and Aunt

to his Benefactors, King WILLIAM, Queen MARY, and Queen ANNE. Nor have foreign Crowns a leſs Share of the Affront, two of the principal Thrones of *Europe* being at this Day fill'd from the Loins of this Princeſs. The Story itſelf, which I am aſham'd to repeat, is ſo ridiculous and improbable, ſo very extravagant, and like a little *French* Novel, that no Man of good Senſe can believe it. After this, what muſt we think of an Author, who thus rakes in the Dunghills of Scandal, for Matter to ſupply his unextinguiſhable Hatred to the Royal Family?

HE now proceeds to the ſecond *Dutch* War in this Reign, where he continues his implacable Malice to the Duke of *York*; for want of Truth to aſperſe and leſſen that Prince, this unknowing Man, unluckily cenſures the moſt gallant Action of his Life, and that which confirm'd the Opinion of his perſonal Courage in all Mankind, who are the leaſt competent Judges of theſe Matters. By his own Words, the Reader will beſt ſee the Injuſtice of this Reflection. *P.* 323. De Ruyter *diſabled the Ship in which the Duke was, whom ſome blam'd for leaving his Ship too ſoon; then his perſonal Courage began firſt to be call'd in queſtion.* The Author, when he ſays that this was the firſt time that his Courage was call'd in queſtion, forgets the Pains that he took to make the World

World believe, that the Duke order'd Sail to be ſlacken'd by Night, in the preceeding War. But to return to the preſent Affair; the Duke's Ship was ſo diſabled, that ſhe lay a Wreck on the Water, upon which he went into the Boat; and tho' all about him moſt earneſtly intreated, that he would ſtrike his Flag, he would not conſent; his Courage ſurmounted his Prudence; he diſplay'd his Colours, and with a triumphant Bravery inſulted the Foe in his Cockboat; this diſtinguiſh'd him to be there in Perſon, and expos'd him to the inceſſant Fire from the whole Line of the Enemy, who endeavour'd to ſink him; but by a happy Temerity he paſs'd thro' them all, got on board a freſh Ship, where he hoiſted his Flag, reſtor'd the Fight, and renew'd his Dangers. Whereas, if he had continu'd in the diſabled Ship, he would have been tow'd out of the Battle, and falling back behind the Line, have remain'd in perfect Safety. Whether the Ignorance or Malice of this Reflection is greater, let the World judge.

THE Author has, in ſeveral Places of his Book, tax'd King CHARLES with Coldneſs and Neglect of the Prince of *Orange*'s Intereſts in *Holland*; but he now forgets himſelf, and gives us a contrary Account. *P.* 324. *They ſent two Embaſſadors*, Dickvelt *and* Halewyn, *to join with* Borel, *who was ſtill*

in England, *to try if it was poſſible to divide* England *from* France; *and the Morning in which they were diſpatch'd away, they had ſecret Powers given them to treat concerning the Prince of* Orange's *being their Stadtholder*; *for Lord* Arlington *had ſo often reproach'd* Borel *for not doing it, that he in all his Letters continued ſtill to preſs that on them*, &c. Notwithſtanding my Lord *Arlington* was one of the corrupt Miniſters, according to the Author's Character, yet we ſee that he had always ſtrenuouſly preſt to have the Stadtholderſhip for the Prince of *Orange*; by which it is evident, that the King was not ſo very remiſs in the Intereſts of his Nephew, as it has been often inſinuated by this Writer.

Remark is continued by the 6 following Lines of the Text *

P. 338, After plentifully railing at Duke *Lauderdale*, he ſays, *I ſoon grew ſo weary of the Court, tho' there was ſcarce a Perſon ſo well uſed by him as my ſelf was, that I went out of Town.* How far this good Uſage, and his Gratitude to that Nobleman, on whom he has made Reflections foreign to an Hiſtorian are conſiſtent, we leave the World to judge. But his Spight to the Wife was not leſs than that to the Husband. He has, in the next Page, painted the Dutcheſs of *Lauderdale* in Colours not the moſt advantagious; tho' I have ſeen a Copy of Verſes written at this very time by Dr. Bur-

Burnet, who had then it ſeems other Sentiments for that great Lady: The Flattery was as groſs and fulſome, as the Poetry was wretched; ſo very mean, that a common School-Boy wou'd have been aſham'd to have own'd it: Tho' there was nothing but Angel in every Line, it is poſſible, that ſhe was not ſo fair as the Poet wou'd make her, nor ſo foul as the Hiſtorian deſcribes her. It is highly probable, that the Sincerity of the Author was equal in both Capacities.

P. ibid. I was ſent for, and continued in ſuch high Favour, that I was again try'd if I would accept of a Biſhoprick, and was promiſed the firſt of the two Archbiſhopricks that ſhould fall: But I was ſtill fix'd in my former Reſolutions not to engage early, being then but nine and twenty, &c. For this we have only his bare Word; I would not prejudice or influence the Reader; but for my own Part, I have ſo much a ſtronger Opinion of his Ambition than Modeſty, that I muſt own I cannot believe him.

REMARKS

Hiſtorical and *Critical* :

BOOK III.

THE begins his third Book with deſcribing the Situation of Affairs at the Meeting of the Parliament in Seventy-three. At this time the King was in very ill Circumſtances ; he was engag'd in a War, and wanted Money to ſupport it. His Miniſters had put him upon two Projects, which were both thought illegal by his People: The firſt was the Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, without Conſent of Parliament: This was diſpenſing with the Laws. The other was, iſſuing Writs out of Chancery for electing Mem-

Members in the vacant Boroughs, during the Intervals of Parliament: This had been the ancient Cuſtom; but the Houſe of Commons having got Poſſeſſion of this Right, would not let go their Title of Preſcription. My Lord *Shaftsbury*, who was now at the Head of the Miniſtry, was the chief Adviſer in both theſe irregular Steps. Let us ſee the Author's Account. *P.* 346. *The Money was exhauſted, ſo it was neceſſary to have a Seſſion of Parliament; and one was call'd in the Beginning of the Year. At the Opening of it, the King excus'd the iſſuing out the Writs, as done to ſave time, and to have a full Houſe at their firſt Opening; but he left that Matter wholly to them. He ſpoke of the Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience in another Stile:* He *ſaid he had ſeen the good Effects of it, and that he would ſtick to it and maintain it.* He *ſaid, he was engag'd in a War for the* Honour *of the* Nation; *and therefore he demanded the Supplies neceſſary to carry it on. On theſe* Heads, *Lord* Shaftsbury *enlarg'd; but no part of his Speech was more amazing than that, ſpeaking of the War with the* Dutch, *he ſaid,* Delenda eſt Carthago; *yet while he made a baſe complying Speech, in favour of the Court and of the War, he was in a ſecret Management with another Party.* Hard Fate of Princes! they muſt ſee with other Mens Eyes, and yet be reſponſible for

other Men's Faults. Neceſſity obliges them to make uſe of ſubſervient Agents, who, when thro' Imprudence or Deſign, they have embarraſs'd their Maſters, to eſcape the riſing Storm, tack about in time, and make their Peace with the People at the Expence of the injur'd Sovereign. Theſe two Efforts were the only Actions that look any thing arbitrary in the Reign of King CHARLES II; both theſe Pretenſions he ſoon ſurrender'd to the Remonſtrances of his People; which Conſideration ſhould have induced our Author, to have been a little more juſt to the Character of this Prince, whom his own Confeſſion allows to have been ſo baſely betray'd.

P. 348. *It had been much debated in the Cabinet what the King ſhould do: Lord* Clifford *and Duke* Lauderdale *were for the King's ſtanding his Ground. Sir* Ellis Leighton *aſſur'd me, that the Duke of* Buckingham *and Lord* Berkley *offer'd the King, that if he would bring the Army to Town, that they would take out of both Houſes the Members that made the Oppoſition. He fancied that the Thing might eaſily be brought about; and that if the King would have acted with the Spirit that he ſometimes put on, they might have carried their Buſineſs. Duke* Lauderdale *talk'd of bringing the Army out of* Scotland, *&c.* If this is true, it is a ſufficient Juſtification of

of King CHARLES, and acquits him from the repeated Accuſations of the Author in regard to his arbitrary Deſigns. By his Refuſal to follow this wicked Advice, it is plain, that he never had ſuch Intentions when no Opportunity could tempt, and no Neceſſity force him, tho' the Thing was practicable, to make any Attempt on the Liberties of his People. This is the Burden of the Song in the Author's conſtant Charge againſt this Prince, as if it were a Crime to be ill adviſ'd, and no Virtue to reject the evil Council.

P. 354. *Lord* Sunderland *was a Man of a clear and ready Apprehenſion.*——— *He had the Dexterity of inſinuating himſelf ſo intirely into ſo great a Degree of Confidence with three ſucceeding Princes, who ſet up on different Intereſts*, &c. Two of theſe Princes muſt be King CHARLES and King JAMES, who were both Papiſts; the one ſecret, according to our Author, the other avow'd; and, if we can believe him, had both the ſame conſtant, ſettled, uniform Deſign of introducing Popery: How came they then to ſet up on different Intereſts? This is a manifeſt Inconſiſtency; and ſhews how neceſſary it is for Writers to keep within the Paths of Truth; when once they wander, led by no other Guide than their Paſſions, they ſoon loſe their Way, are be-

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wilder'd in the Mazes of Error, and plunge into the greateſt Abſurdities.

In the following Pages, he entertains his Reader with very advantagious Accounts of himſelf, in which his Vanity is inſupportable; the King and the Duke conſult him as an Oracle, not only in his own Profeſſion, but even in Politicks; no Body could give them Accounts of *Scotland* but Dr. **Burnet**, when they had ſo many abler Men, on whoſe Capacity they could better rely, as well as Integrity. The King by his Praiſes raiſes him Envy; and the Duke of *Buckingham* falls in love with him, as ſoon as ever he ſaw his Face. This Vanity is always attended by a certain Weakneſs and Impotence of Mind; when a Man is conceited ſo much of his own Merit, he will have but a tolerable Opinion of his Neighbours; for whoever is always commending himſelf, will ſeldom ſpeak well of others.

P. 359. *I carried a Volume of Judge* Crook's *to him* (*Duke of* York) *in which it is reported, that King* James *had once in Council complain'd of a Slander caſt on him, as if he was inclin'd to change his Religion; and had ſolemnly vindicated himſelf from the Imputation; and pray'd, that if any ſhould ſpring out of his Loins, that ſhould maintain any other* Religion, *than that which he maintain'd and profeſs'd, that*

that God would take him out of the World. He read it; but it made no Impression. And when I urg'd him with some things in his Father's Book, he gave me the Account of it that was formerly mention'd. If this Account given by Judge *Crook* is true, it acquits that Prince from all this Author's slanderous Insinuations of his being inclin'd to Popery. But there are certain Men in the World, who, tho' in their Principles as to Religion, they have no great Opinion of the Efficacy either of Prayers, or Curses, yet to serve a turn, and blast the Royal Family in the Opinion of the World; as if the Posterity of this Prince were abandon'd by Heaven upon this Malediction of their Ancestor, with Vehemence support this Story, and are very angry if you will not believe them, while the same Men the very next Moment with equal Warmth will strenuously assert that King JAMES I. was a Papist, not reflecting on the Unnaturalness of the Absurdity, in making a Man angry with others, for being of the same Opinion with himself. The Book he mentions is the famous Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ written by King CHARLES I. In the Beginning of this posthumous Work, Dr. **Burnet** has been pleas'd to tell us, that in a Conversation with the Duke of *York*, that Prince assur'd him that the Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ was not written by the King his Father, but by Dr. *Gauden*. This Story, improbable

ble as it is, I let then paſs uncontradicted; being ſatisfy'd, that Dr. *Wagſtaf* had ſo undeniably prov'd the Right of the King to that Book, againſt his Antagoniſt Mr. *Toland*, that no Man of common Ingenuity could doubt it. But ſince he thinks fit to renew and confirm the ſame Tale, we ſhall be oblig'd to diſcuſs the Probability of this ſecret Hiſtory; how unlikely it is that the Duke ſhou'd tell him this Story. CHARLES the 2d, in the Year 1660, granted his Letters Patents for printing his Father's Works, on which Occaſion, this Book is mentioned by Name, and aſſerted to be compos'd by the King. Afterward King JAMES in the Year 1685, granted a new Patent for printing the ſame Works, in which Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ is included. I muſt deſire the Reader to take Notice, that this was long after all Correſpondence had been broken between the Duke and the Doctor, who now, without any Provocation, had flown in his Face, and began to make open War upon him: So that whatever Converſation had paſt between them, muſt have been before his Acceſſion to the Throne, and long before the Grant of this laſt Patent. After this, it is a little hard to believe, that this unfortunate Prince, with all his Faults, ſhould be guilty of ſo much Diſingenuity, as to aſſert, under his Broad-Seal, for a Truth, what he had deny'd before to Dr. **Burnet**; and if to him,

him, probably to many others; this is unlike the Character which the Author has given himself of this Prince, whom in his private Capacity, as to his Morals, he has made an honest and sincere Man; and in this Case, he cou'd have no Interest of State or Religion to impose on the World. But why did not Dr. **Burnet** declare this Matter to Mankind, during the Life of King JAMES? If he had not been afraid of being contradicted, it is highly probable, that we should have heard this Story long before; that Prince having surviv'd the Loss of his Crown near 13 Years, the Author had all that time to have said what he pleased, in regard to him, with Impunity. If there were no other Argument, the Book it self bespeaks the Author; no Man could so naturally, so movingly express those Sufferings, but he who had felt them. As to Dr. *Gauden*, the Bishop allows himself, that his other Performances were very much inferior to the Excellencies of that Book. If he then, who is the only Person pretended, was not the Author, why not the King, who has all the moral Certitude, all the Proofs and Presumptions on his Side, that the Nature of the Thing, at this distance of Time, will admit? Without any Disparagement to Dr. *Gauden*, he had no more the Capacity to have written this Book, than probably the Fortitude to have born the Suf-

Sufferings which thoſe divine Meditations lament. It is no Wonder, that the Party who murder'd this Prince, ſhould be aſham'd to have the World believe, that a Man, whom they had ſo inhumanly treated, was adorn'd with ſo many Virtues, and able ſo well to defend his Innocence. After all, by this Story, Dr. **Burnet** will have the Honour to be join'd with Mr. *Toland*, in depreciating the Memory of King CHARLES I. This will naturally give the uncharitable Part of the World a Handle to believe, that the good Biſhop was not abſolutely averſe to ſome other extraordinary Principles of that worthy Man, his Collegue. But this is not the only Injuſtice done daily to the Memory of CHARLES I. Nothing can be more aſtoniſhing, than the unextinguiſhable Malice of ſome Men, who not ſatisfy'd with the Blood of that Prince, take all Occaſions to murder his Reputation, and react on his Memory the Cruelty of the Regicides to his Perſon; by this they contract a Share of the Crime, and perpetuate the Vengeance as well as the Guilt; while by thus diſturbing the venerable Aſhes of the Royal Martyr, whom they will not let reſt in his Grave, they add their own Sacrilege to the execrable Parricide of their impious Anceſtors.

P. 360, he gives us a freſh Inſtance of his wonderful Modeſty. *He* (i. e. *Sir* Ellis Leigh-

Leighton) *prest me to improve my present Advantage, to the making my Fortune: The See of* Durham *was then vacant; and he was confident it would be no hard* Matter *for me to compass it. But I had none of those Views, and so was not mov'd by them.* In refusing an Archbishoprick in *Scotland*, the Doctor shew'd his Contempt of Dignity, as now of Riches. This is a Modesty not to be equalled in these latter degenerate Ages, we must go back to the primitive Times, to find such a great Example of Humility and Self-denial. The See of *Durham*, consider'd in all respects, perhaps is the best in *England*; and we should have had more reason to believe him in this Point, if he had not condescended to accept a much worse, inferior in every respect, both in Revenue and Dignity, as soon as he could get it. Thus the most aspiring and ambitious of Men, sets up for a Pattern of the opposite Virtues. As to this Story, it is my firm Opinion, that there is not one Man in *England* believes him.

P. 379, he brings us to that famous Affair which made so much Noise, his Accusation of Duke *Lauderdale* before the House of Commons. Here the Author, thro' a visible Consciousness, endeavours to palliate so vile an Action. Let us hear what he can say for himself. *The House of Commons fell upon*

upon Duke Lauderdale; *and thoſe who knew what had paſs'd between him and me, mov'd that I ſhould be examin'd before a Committee. I was brought before them. I told them how I had been commanded out of Town. But tho' that was illegal, yet ſince it had been let fall, it was not inſiſted on. I was next examin'd concerning his Deſign of arming the* Iriſh *Papiſts. I ſaid, I, as well as others, heard him ſay, he wiſh'd the Presbyterians* in Scotland *would rebel, that he might bring over the* Iriſh *Papiſts to cut their Throats. I was next examin'd concerning the Deſign of bringing a* Scottiſh *Army into* England. *I deſir'd to be excus'd as to what had paſs'd in private Diſcourſe, to which I thought I was not bound to anſwer, unleſs it were* High-Treaſon. *They preſs'd me long, and I would give them no other Anſwer. So they all concluded that I knew great* Matters, *and reported this ſpecially to the Houſe. Upon that I was ſent for, and brought before the Houſe. I ſtood upon it as I had done at the Committee, that I was not bound to anſwer; that nothing had paſs'd that was* High-Treaſon; *and as to all other Things, I did not think my ſelf bound to diſcover them. I ſaid farther, I knew Duke* Lauderdale *was apt to ſay Things in a Heat, which he did not intend to do; and ſince he had uſed my ſelf ſo ill, I thought my ſelf the more obliged, not to ſay any thing that look'd like Revenge, for what I had met with from him. I was brought four times to the Bar. At laſt I*

was

was told, the House thought that they had a Right to examine into every Thing that concerned the Safety of the Nation, as well as into Matters of Treason: And they look'd on me as bound to satisfy them: Otherwise they would make me feel the Weight of their heavy Displeasure, as one that conceal'd what they thought was necessary to be known. Upon this I yielded, and gave an Account of the Discourse formerly mention'd. They laid great Weight on this, and renewed their Address against Duke Lauderdale.

THIS is his Account of the Fact; we will next see what he says in his own Defence. *I was much blam'd for what I had done. Some to make it look the worse, added, that I had been his Chaplain, which was false; and that I had been much obliged to him, tho' I had never receiv'd any real Obligation from him, but had done him great Services, for which I had been very unworthily requited. Yet the Thing had an ill Appearance, as disclosing what had passed in Confidence; tho' I made it a very great Question how far even that ought to bind a Man, when the Designs are very wicked, and the Person continued still in the same Post and Capacity of executing them. I have told the Matter as it was, and must leave my self to the Censure of*

the Reader. My Love to my Country, and private Friendſhips carried me perhaps too far; eſpecially ſince I had declar'd againſt Clergy-Mens medling in ſecular Affairs, and yet had run my ſelf ſo deep in them. This is all he can ſay for himſelf; but before we examine his Defence of the Fact, we muſt take notice how groſly he contradicts himſelf. Some few Pages before, he told us how well he was treated by Duke *Lauderdale;* and that he offered him the firſt Arch-Biſhoprick that ſhould fall; tho' now he aſſerts that he had no Obligation to that great Miniſter. Whether he is juſt in this Aſſertion or no, let all the Clergy in *England* judge. For a private Man, who had at this time no great Preferment, if any, to be not only offer'd, but preſs'd to accept the moſt eminent Station and Dignity in the Church, would have been thought a very great Obligation by any Man, except Doctor **Burnet.**

As the Reputation of the Author will intirely ſtand or fall by a juſt and fair Deciſion of this Matter, I ſhall be very tender of doing him wrong, for which Reaſon, I have given the Reader his whole Defence. Before we can be competent Judges of this Caſe, it will be neceſſary to enquire into the Circumſtances of Time, as well as the Motives of the Information. It is certain

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in all Conſpiracies againſt a Government, if there is a form'd Deſign, ready to be put in Execution immediately; if the Dagger is at the Throat of the Prince, or Magiſtrate, and nothing can prevent the Blow, but a timely Diſcovery; in ſuch an Exigency all Conſiderations muſt vaniſh; Wife and Children, Friends, all Obligations tho' never ſo ſtrong, muſt be ſacrific'd to the publick Safety. But this was not the Author's Caſe; ſome of the Words were ſpoken in Paſſion, by his own Acknowledgement, without the Appearance of any Deſign; and all was paſt two Years before the Diſcovery. In the Caſe of Words, the Wiſdom of our Laws has allotted a certain Number of Days for Information; ——— after which, any Accuſation ſhall be deem'd malicious, and judg'd to proceed from ſome intervening Reſentment: But here had been a long Interval of Time, during which, the Author had maintain'd the ſame Habit of Life in Regard to Duke *Lauderdale*, with the ſame Profeſſions of Service and Friendſhip; nor was this all, he dedicated a Book to him entitled, *A Vindication of the Laws, &c.* In this Dedication the Flattery is daub'd ſo thick as to turn the Reader's Stomach: He tells his Patron; *How worthily he bore that great Character,* ——— praiſes him *for the long and uninterrupted Tranquillity that Kingdom had enjoy'd under his wiſe and*

happy Conduct; —— he acknowledges, *the particular Engagements by which he was obliged to him; that it was not fit for him to express the Sense of them, for fear he should seem to flatter him.* At last he tells the Duke, that *from him alone they expected a happy Settlement.* All this to a Man, in whom he had discover'd so nefarious a Design as the enslaving and Destruction of his Country, which is one Kind of Parricide. Conscious of all this, when he design'd to turn Informer, he rightly judg'd, that it would discredit his Evidence, to have all these authentick Proofs of his Insincerity brought against him; upon which, he resolv'd to stifle this Dedication if possibly he could; being justly asham'd, that the World should see what Incense he had offer'd to that very Man, whom now he was going to sacrifice. The learned Doctor *Hicks*, who liv'd at this Time, and was an Eye Witness of these Transactions, has given many Years ago an Account of this Management, the Knowledge of which will instruct the Reader. *Not long after printing this Book at* Glascow, *he brought a great Part of the Impression to* London, *where he sold it to Mr.* Moses Pit; *and not long after he came to him, to desire him with great Earnestness to sell the Copies of it without the Dedication; for by this time the Duke had fallen out with him, and discarded him, for some*

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Arts and Qualities he had obſerv'd in him, which I need not name. Mr. Pitt *gave him very good Reaſons, why he ought not to do ſo; and particularly told him, he could not honeſtly ſell an imperfect for a perfect Copy. Upon which he was angry, and threaten'd him with the Loſs of all the Favours he intended to do him in his Trade. This Mr.* Pitt *can teſtify, if he is living; if not, it can be atteſted by an honourable Perſon, who heard him ſollicit Mr.* Pitt *to this baſe and unworthy Practice. But tho' Mr.* Pitt *would not conſent to ſell the Books without the Dedication, yet he was content to let him have them again; and ſo they came abroad without it; and ſo hard it was, 'till it was privately reprinted, to get one ſingle Copy with it, that I profeſs I could never get ſuch a one, 'till a Gentleman preſented me with one out of his private Study: And when he had delated his Patron to the Houſe of Commons, Sir* A. Forreiter, *his Grace's Secretary, told me, that after the utmoſt Diligence he could get but one ſingle Copy with the Dedication, tho' he would have purchas'd more at any rate, to have ſhewn the Gentlemen of the honourable Houſe, what Kind of Man the Evidence was, that would publiſh ſuch things in Commendation of the Duke, after he knew, as he pretended, that he had a Deſign of bringing an Army out of* Scotland, *for the ſpoiling and ſubduing of* England. *The*

Diſcovery of this Dedication, and his ſuppreſſing it, coming to be known, made the Houſe curious to ſee it; and he forſeeing what Uſe would be made of it againſt him, was willing to decline this noble Undertaking; but the Houſe by the Intereſt of the Duke's Friends, who increas'd on this Diſcovery, made him teſtify what he ſince ſays created Horror in him; and how much Reputation he got by it I need not tell the World. This is the juſt and true Account of his Conduct, for which, all Circumſtances conſider'd, no manner of Excuſe can be made. The firſt Part of his Evidence related to Converſation at the Duke's Table: This was a Breach of Hoſpitality, whoſe Laws being reciprocal, may be violated by the Gueſt, as well as the Maſter of the Houſe. The ſame Word *Hoſpes* in *Latin* ſignifies both the Gueſt and the Landlord. The other Part being what had paſs'd in a Cabinet, and under a Seal no leſs ſtrong than that of Confeſſion, was certainly the higheſt Breach of Truſt, mutual Confidence, and every thing that is ſacred between Man and Man. After this, next to acting the Part itſelf, a Man of Honour ſhould have been very tender of keeping the Actor company. The Pretence, that he was forc'd by the Parliament, will bear no Manner of Weight; if he had not given the Intimation, the Houſe would never have known that he had any thing to ſay againſt Duke

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Lauderdale. In ſhort, the firſt Diſcovery of the Secret was the Crime, and made the Delator reſponſible for every Conſequence.

By *p.* 382, we may gueſs at his Principles, and plainly ſee what a fine Churchman we had in Dr. **Burnet.** Speaking of Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*'s ſecond Lady, he gives her this Character: *She had all the high Notions for the Church and the Crown, in which ſhe had been bred; but was the humbleſt, devouteſt, and beſt temper'd Perſon I ever knew of that Sort.* Here he makes it a kind of Miracle, for a Woman well princip'l'd to the Crown and the Church, to have Humility, Devotion, or any good Temper. The Tory Ladies, who are infinitely the greater Part of the Nation, and not more conſiderable for their Numbers than Beauty, are very much oblig'd to the good Biſhop; but perhaps he met with ſome Repulſes from one Sort, and found the other more kind and better temper'd.

P. 389. *For as our main Buſineſs lay in preparing for, or managing a Seſſion of Parliament.* Who would not ſuppoſe, when he reads this Sentence, that ſome Miniſter of State, or at leaſt a great leading Man in the Houſe of Commons, was talking at this Rate? But when he is told,

firſt, that the Perſon was not an *Engliſh-man*, and no more than the Chaplain to the Maſter of the *Rolls*, what a Contempt muſt he have of the little Inſect? In this he contradicts what he told us a few Pages before, that upon his Diſgrace on Account of Duke *Lauderdale*'s Affair, he retreated to his Poſt at the *Rolls*, where he apply'd himſelf to his Function and Studies, with which publick Affairs and Intrigues of State are very incompatible.

P. 392. After giving a tolerable Character of Dr. *Compton*, he concludes with his old Reſerve: *But with theſe good Qualities* Compton *was a weak Man, willful, and ſtrangely wedded to a Party.* If the Reader ſhould not readily apprehend what Party he means, it was the Church of *England*, to whom he never forgot his near Relation. It is ſtrange, that a Biſhop of *London* ſhould be ſo unlike a Biſhop of *Salisbury*.

The Author's Character of Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, in the ſame Page, is not unworthy of Obſervation. Sancroft *Dean of* Paul's, *was rais'd to it. He was a Man of ſolemn Deportment, had a ſullen Gravity in his Looks, and was conſiderably learned. He put on a monaſtick Strictneſs, and liv'd abſtracted from Company. Theſe Things, together with his living unmarried, and his being fixt*

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in the old Maxims *of high* Loyalty, *and a ſuperſtitious valuing of little things, made the Court conclude, that he was a* Man *that might be entirely gain'd to ſerve all their Ends; or, at leaſt, that he would be an unactive ſpeculative* Man, *and give them little Oppoſition in any Thing that they might attempt, when they had more promiſing Opportunities. He was a dry cold* Man, *reſerv'd and peeviſh; ſo that none lov'd him, and few eſteem'd him; yet the High-Church Party was well pleas'd with his Promotion.* He can mean nothing by all this Jargon, *Ends*, *Attempts*, *Opportunities*, *little Oppoſition*, *&c.* but his old Bugbear, Popery and arbitrary Power; and can pitch on no one more likely to introduce them, than the Man who ſacrific'd his All to his Conſcience. Such is the Character he gives of this great and good Man, for whom the whole Nation had once ſo profound a Reſpect and Reverence. As there is more meant and deſign'd in this Paragraph than the Words expreſs, a ſhort Comment will not be improper. When he gives him Gravity, he thinks fit to allay the Compliment with the Epithet Sullen; awful Gravity would have ſounded as well, but that would have imprinted too much Reſpect for ſo high a Churchman; his monaſtick Strictneſs, and living without a Wife, ſeems a little out of the way, when he might have had three, if he could have kill'd them one after another

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with Kindneſs; but his greateſt Fault was *his ſuperſtitious valuing* of little Things. Theſe little Things were not only the Surplice and Croſs in Baptiſm; but the Diſcipline, Ceremonies, Liturgy, Creeds, and all thoſe Trifles. But the leaſt thing of all, about which he was always ſo very peeviſh, was the Pale of the Church, which he would not break down to let in the Beaſts of the Common.

P. 393. *As Lord* Danby *thus rais'd his Creatures in the Church, ſo he got all Men turn'd out of his Places that did not entirely depend on him; and went on in his Credit with the King, ſtill aſſuring him that if he would leave things to his Conduct, he would certainly bring about the whole Cavalier Party to him; and ſuch was the Corruption and Poverty of that Party, that had it not been that French and Popiſh Councils, were ſo viſible in the whole courſe of our Affairs, he had very probably gain'd them to have raiſed the Kings Power, and to have extirpated the Diſſenters; and to have brought things very near to the ſtate they were in, in King* CHARLES *the firſt's time before the War.* If we can believe the unanimous Accounts of all Hiſtorians, there never was a greater Calm, nor a more viſible Face of Proſperity, Plenty, Trade and Riches in *England*, than juſt before the Parliament ſat in 40, after which immediately the Troubles began,

began, those fatal Seditions, rais'd by the restless Spirits of the Puritans, with a design to pull down the Throne and the Church, in which they succeeded at last. As he stigmatizes the only happy Days of this Reign, it is to be presum'd, that he was better pleas'd with the Scene, that follow'd, when the Crown and the Mitre lay both in the Dust.

P. 398. *Upon this Occasion, the Earl of* Essex *told me, that he knew the King did often take* Money *into his Privy Purse, to defraud his Exchequer; for he reckoned that what was carried thither, was not so much his own as his Privy Purse was. And* Coventry *told Lord* Essex, *that once there was a Plantation Cause at the Council Board; and he was troubled to see the King espouse the worst side; and upon that he went to him, and told him secretly, that it was a vile Cause which he was supporting, the King answer'd, that he had got good Money for doing it.* Here is a second-hand hearsay; *Coventry* told Lord *Essex*, so that we have it at the third rebound from the Author; upon no better Grounds, he makes no scruple to vilify the Memory of this Prince, by so scandalous a Reflection on his Honour; but it is so unlikely a Story, that none but the prejudic'd will believe him. In the first place, King Charles was no Fool, and if we cou'd conceive that a great Prince

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cou'd be capable of ſo mean and baſe an Action, it is almoſt incredible, that he ſhou'd have no more Senſe or Shame, but to tell it himſelf; as we cannot appeal to the Dead for the truth of this Matter, we have only to conſider in this Caſe, whether the Improbability of the Fact it ſelf, or the Credit of the Perſon who tells it, be greater.

P. 413. He mentions the famous Affair of *Mitchel* the Aſſaſſin; upon this Subject, he ſpends three or four Pages, which wou'd be too long to tranſcribe: I need only tell the Reader, that with a moſt inveterate Malice he charges Duke *Lauderdale*, my Lord *Rothes*, and the Miniſtry with wilful Perjury, and makes the Privy Council of *Scotland* the greateſt of Villains, in promiſing a Man a Pardon, and then denying that Promiſe on Oath. All that he has ſaid in this Matter, was diſprov'd at the Time, by many Anſwers written to confute theſe Calumnies, eſpecially by Dr. *Hicks*, who was then Chaplain to Duke *Lauderdale*, to whoſe Treatiſe I refer the Reader, whom I will trouble with no other Juſtification, but that of Sir *George Mackenzy*, who was then in Employment upon the Spot, and a Witneſs of this Tranſaction. As this great Man has the Advantage in the Reputation of his Probity, as well as of being ſuperior in Genius and Capacity to Dr. **Burnet**, he

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will be always believ'd before him. *Mackenzie's* Vindication, *P.* 19. *It is clamour'd that* Mitchel *the Assassin was executed after he had confess'd the Crime, upon promise of Life, to which it is answer'd, that* Mitchel *having upon the high Street of* Edenburgh *shot at the Archbishop of St.* Andrews, *with a design to murder him, he wounded the Bishop of* Orkney *with that Shot, of which he never recover'd; and being there after apprehended, he confest the Crime, but continu'd still to glory in it, and very famous Witnesses having depos'd, that* Mitchel *was upon a new Plot to kill the same Archbishop,* Mitchel *was brought to a Tryal; and his Defences were, that the Earl of* Rothes, *to whom he had confest it, had promis'd to save his Life, and that the Privy Council afterwards had promis'd the same. For clearing whereof, the said Earl, and all who were upon the Committee, together with all such Members of Council as he desir'd shou'd be cited, were fully examin'd upon all his Interrogatories, and the Registers of Council were produc'd; but not the least Mark of any promise was made to appear by either. So that nothing remain'd, but that the Lord High Chancellor, and Lords of the Privy Council, as they alledg'd, perjur'd themselves; and that the Registers of Council were vitiated. And how it is possible to imagine, that all this Villany was committed to take so inconsiderable a Fellow's Life, I leave the World*

Dr Burnet affirms that they dem to produce the Registers of Council & vouches the Record of the Trial.

World to judge. Sir *George Mackenzy* juſtly obſerves the Incredibility of this Story, from the Smallneſs of the Temptation, to commit ſuch a Villany, as well as from the Reputation, and diſtinguiſh'd Characters of the Men. As if it were not more probable, that ſuch a Miſcreant, who had been capable of ſo nefarious an Attempt on the Life of an Archbiſhop, ſhou'd not ſooner tell a Lie to ſave himſelf, than that an Archbiſhop, a Lord Chancellor, together with a Privy Council, and their Clerks, ſhou'd all conſpire to ſink and falſify Records, and then perjure themſelves to take a Life of ſo little Conſequence away.

P. 416. *Then ſaid Duke* Lauderdale, *in an impious Jeſt, let* Mitchel *glorify God in the Graſs Market.* Here he has not the Ingenuity to tell his Reader the Ground and Reaſon of this Expreſſion, without which, this ſaying wou'd have been as ſilly, as profane. Upon *Mitchel's* Examination, being ask'd what induc'd him to make ſo wicked an Attempt upon the Perſon of the Archbiſhop, he reply'd, that he did it for the Glory of the Lord; for this Reaſon, afterward, when it was reſolv'd to hang him, the Duke humorouſly ſaid, *let* Mitchel *glorify God in the Graſs Market.* By this trifling Reflection, with a deſign to make Duke *Lauderdale* both brutal and profane, he ſhews the

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Nature of the Man; the meaneſs of his Malice and thirſt of Revenge, are as conſpicuous in this little Slander, as in his more important and enormous Scandals.

P. ibid. Yet Duke Lauderdale *had a Chaplain*, Hicks *afterward Dean of* Worceſter, *who publiſh'd a falſe and partial Relation of this Matter, in order to the juſtifying of it.* It is no Wonder that he has a fling at Dr. *Hicks*, who has ſo much oblig'd the Publick in detecting the Prevarications, Inſincerity, and ſhameful Practices of this Author on ſeveral Occaſions. Whoever is acquainted with the true Character of that learned, great, and good Man, knows that he was as incapable on any conſideration, of aſſerting a Falſhood, as the Man who reviles him of ſpeaking Truth, whenever he is hurried by his prædominant Paſſion to gratify his Revenge at the Expence of his Integrity.

P. ibid. What Sharp *did now to preſerve himſelf from ſuch Practices, was probably that which both in the juſt Judgment of God, and the enflam'd Fury of wicked Men, brought him two Years after to ſuch a diſmal End.* Here with a Raſhneſs equal to his Want of Charity, he impiouſly enters into the Secrets of Providence, and makes the Judgments of God attend on his Reſentments,

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So great a Divine ſhou'd have conſider'd, that Afflictions, Perſecution, and often Death by the Hands of the Unrighteous, are the Portion of the Juſt in this World: If there was a conſtant Retribution of Good and Evil, if wicked Men were always puniſh'd in this Life, it wou'd be better for ſome who have peaceably dy'd in their Beds; they might then have been Objects of human Juſtice, here below have expiated their Crimes, perhaps in the Boots of *Scotland*, and not have been wholly reſerv'd for a more dreadful Tribunal.

P. 444. After having given an Account of the Popiſh Plot, which is not the moſt partial Part of his Book, he ſeems to deride the moſt plauſible Part of the Story, and ſupports the greateſt Abſurdities. In this Account, he gives up *Oates* and *Bedlow* for moſt abandon'd Rogues; but at the ſame time, is more favourable to *Dugdale*, whoſe Character he ſupports, tho' he was a very vicious and immoral Man. *P.* 444. *This began to ſhake the Credit of the Evidence, when a more compoſed credible Perſon came in to ſupport it; one* Dugdale, *that had been Lord* Aſton's *Baylif, and liv'd in a fair Reputation in the Country, was put in Priſon for refuſing the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. He did then with many Imprecations deny that he knew of any Plot.* We will ſee what Mr. *Eachard*

Eachard ſays of this good Man in my Lord *Stafford*'s Tryal. *Eachard, p. 996.*

" Againſt *Dugdale* he produc'd Evidence,
" that he was a Perſon of infamous Life;
" that he had cheated the Lord *Aſton* his
" Maſter, and defrauded Workmen and
" Servants of their Wages: That by his
" Extravagancies and Miſdemeanours, he
" had run himſelf into ſeveral hundred
" Pounds Debt, for which he was thrown
" into Jayl, and deſpair'd of ever getting
" out, but by making pretended Diſcover-
" ies. In the next Place, that he had di-
" rectly perjur'd himſelf in divers Parts and
" Circumſtances; as to Time and Place, in
" this, and other Depoſitions. And further,
" he prov'd, that he had endeavour'd to
" ſuborn divers Perſons to make falſe Oaths,
" and ſo to ſtrengthen his own, by other
" Men's Perjuries. This entirely deſtroys
" the Character of *Dugdale*, as to his
" being a credible Perſon, and a Man of
" Reputation in the Country where he
" liv'd; but if this is not ſufficient, the
" Author himſelf, by and by, ſhall do Mr.
Dugdale's Buſineſs. When this Evidence afterward tack'd about, and ſwore againſt the other ſide in the Tryal of *College*, this very Writer makes him as great a Rogue, as an honeſt Man before. It is Pity the Doctor had not ſometimes more Memory, and always leſs Partiality. But a

Metaphyſical Diſtinction of Forty One will eaſily ſolve this Matter, by dividing the Perſon into two Capacities; the honeſt Man ſwore againſt the Papiſts, and the Rogue againſt the Proteſtant Joyner, which very much alter'd the Caſe.

P. 447. Berry *declar'd himſelf a Proteſtant, and that tho' he had chang'd his Religion for fear of loſing his Place, yet he had ſtill continued to be one in his Heart. He ſaid he look'd on what had befallen him, as a juſt Judgment of God for that Diſſimulation: He deny'd the whole Matter charg'd on him: He ſeem'd to prepare himſelf ſeriouſly for Death; and to the laſt Minute he affirm'd that he was altogether innocent. Dr.* Lloyd *attended him, and was much perſuaded of his Sincerity.* Prance *ſwore nothing againſt him, but that he aſſiſted in the Fact, and in carrying about the dead Body. So* Lloyd *reckon'd that thoſe things being done in the Night,* Prance *might have miſtaken him for ſome other Perſon, who might be like him, conſidering the Confuſion that ſo much Guilt might have put him in. He therefore believ'd that* Prance *had ſworn raſhly with relation to him,* &c. The Author forgot to put on his conſidering Cap when he averr'd, that Prance *ſwore nothing againſt him, but that he aſſiſted in the Fact, and*

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in carrying about the dead Body. What poſſibly cou'd the moſt guilty do more? By aſſiſting in the Fact, he was a Principal in the Murder, as well as an Acceſſary in aiding to diſpoſe of the Body; tho' the Law makes no Diſtinction in this Caſe. Afterwards ſpeaking of Dr. *Lloyd*, the Author aſſerts, *that he did nothing in it, but what became his Profeſſion.* The Doctor certainly was under ſome Abſence of Mind when he told this Story of his Friend Dr. *Lloyd*, and did not conſider how much he wou'd affect his Reputation by one Confeſſion that he has made in this Account. *Berry* paſſionately deſir'd to receive the Sacrament before he dy'd; this was refus'd by Dr. *Lloyd*, who upon repeated Denyals, was cited by the poor Man in the Agony of his Soul, to anſwer it at the Day of Judgment. The only Pretence that cou'd be given for this Inhumanity, was, that the Doctor being firmly convinc'd of his Guilt, wou'd not let him Shipwreck his Soul, by denying his Crime with ſo much Solemnity. But Dr. **Burnet** intirely deſtroys this Excuſe, by aſſerting that his Friend was perſuaded of his Penitent's Innocence. If ſo, nothing can excuſe a Parochial Prieſt in not knowing his Duty better, than to deny to a dying Man in a State of Repentance for all his Sins, the Comfort of the bleſſed

Sacrament. This wou'd induce a Man to believe that another Reaſon, which was given at the Time for this Refuſal, was the true one, *viz.* That the Doctor thought it might a little impair the Credit of the Plot, to have a dying Proteſtant on the Sacrament aſſert his Innocence. If Dr. **Burnet** had told this Story, he cou'd not have affirm'd that his Friend had behav'd as became his Profeſſion. But in this Caſe, he exceeded his own Maxim in his Book on *Varillas*, which was to touch gently the failings of his Friends; but here, to uſe his own Words, *the Biaſs was ſo ſtrong*, he has thought fit not to mention them at all; tho' he cou'd not poſſibly forget this Part of the Story, which made ſo much Noiſe at the Time, and gave ſo great a Scandal, the refuſing to a dying Man, from whom was going to be taken away all that was deareſt in this World, the only comfortable Viaticum in his Journey to the next. As this refuſal of the Sacrament to *Berry* unleſs he would confeſs his Crime, was a Matter of Fact notoriously known, if what Dr. **Burnet** ſays, is true, that Dr. *Floyd* at the Same time believ'd him not guilty; he gives us a ſtrange Idea of a Reverend Divine, who contrary to the Conviction of his Conſcience, on a political View, would tempt a wretched Man under ſuch Circumſtances, to fling away his

his Soul in ſo ſolemn a manner, by a perjurious Renunciation of his own Innocence. It is impoſſible to avoid the Dilemma, either the Biſhop of *Salisbury* has told us an Untruth, or the Parſon of St *Martins* on this Occaſion acted a Part, which I leave the Reader to name.

P. 470. *When a Party of furious* Men *were riding thro' a* Moor, *near* St. Andrews, *they ſaw the Archbiſhop's Coach appear: He was coming from a Council Day, and was driving home: He had ſent ſome of his Servants before him, to let them know he was coming, and others he had ſent off on Compliments; ſo that there was no Horſemen about the Coach. They ſeeing this, concluded according to their frantick enthuſiaſtick Notions, that God had now deliver'd up their greateſt Enemy into their Hands: Seven of them made up to the Coach, while the reſt were as Scouts riding all about the* Moor. *One of them fir'd a Piſtol at him, which burnt his Coat and Gown, but did not go into his Body: Upon this, they fancied that he had a* Magical *Secret to ſecure him againſt a Shot; and they drew him out of his Coach, and murder'd him barbarouſly, repeating their Stroaks till they were ſure he was quite dead; and ſo they got clear off, no Body happening to go croſs the* Moor *all the While. This was the diſmal End of that unhappy Man: It ſtruck all People with Horror, and ſoftn'd his Ene-*

mies into ſome Tenderneſs; ſo that his Memory was treated with Decency by thoſe who had very little Reſpect for him during Life.

THIS is the faint Account that he gives of one of the moſt atrocious and nefarious Actions that ever was perpetrated by the moſt wicked of Men. In this Relation he has diſguis'd and falſify'd ſome of the Circumſtances, and conceal'd others very material, for fear his Reader ſhou'd be touch'd any more than himſelf; not daring plainly to excuſe ſo execrable a Murder, he wou'd palliate and leſſen the Horror of the Fact as much as he cou'd, by endeavouring to make it appear an accidental Rencounter with the Archbiſhop, and not a premeditated Deſign of the Ruffians, which is contray to Truth; in order to impoſe this Notion on the Reader, he aſſerts a poſitive Falſhood, that there were none of the Servants about the Coach; this Circumſtance he believ'd wou'd make it look more caſual, as if they had laid hold on ſo fair an Opportunity of the Archbiſhop's being defenceleſs. But the printed Accounts publiſh'd at this time by Authority, aſſure us, that they had dog'd him the Day before, and enquir'd after him in the Village, where he lodg'd that Night; all this he induſtriouſly conceals, as well as ſome Circumſtances of the Fact, for fear he ſhou'd raiſe

too

too much Pity for the Murder'd, and too much Horror for the Murderers, whom neither the Grey Hairs of a venerable old Man, the Tears and Cryes of an innocent ſupplicant Virgin, wounded on her Knees in interceeding for her Father, nor the Charity of the Martyr in praying for his Murderers, cou'd touch with the leaſt Remorſe. Pity and Horror were the Paſſions to be rais'd on this Occaſion; theſe are the Colours in which a good and honeſt Hiſtorian ought to have painted this execrable Scene of Violence: As it is his Duty to inform and inſtruct his Reader, to let him know what to ſhun, and what to imitate, to inflame him with a Love of Virtue, and arm him with a Deteſtation of Vice; whenever he fails in this Part of his Duty, by any manner of Diſguiſe in the Fact, when he mentions any flagitious Action without ſetting it forth in its trueſt Light; he quits his cenſorial Dignity, and grows acceſſary to that Guilt, which he has not the Juſtice ſeverely to condemn. When the Author ſays, *that his Memory when dead, was treated with Decency, by thoſe who had very little Reſpect for him alive.* He muſt certainly except himſelf, who has neither treated him living nor dead with Decency, nor common Humanity. There is one Remark to be made, which muſt certainly make the Reader ſmile; this is

the firſt Time that he has given Dr. *Sharp* the Title of Archbiſhop, if I am not very much miſtaken thro' the whole Book. But this Generoſity cou'd not laſt long, he returns ſoon to his Vomit; and as his Malice cou'd not be quench'd by the Death of this Martyr'd Prelate, he purſues him to the Grave, and takes his Leave of this injur'd Man with a general Reflection on his Character.

P. 471. *A Week after there was a great Field Conventicle held within ten Miles of* Glaſgow; *a Body of the Guards engag'd with them, and they made ſuch vigorous Reſiſtance, that the Guards having loſt thirty of their Number, were forc'd to run for it. So the Conventicle form'd its ſelf into a Body, and march'd to* Glaſgow. *The Perſon that led them, had been bred by me, being a younger Son of Sir* Thomas Hamilton, *who had married my Siſter, but by a former Wife.*——*Duke* Lauderdale *and his Party, Publiſh'd every where, that this Rebellion was headed by a Nephew of mine, whom I had prepar'd for ſuch a Work, when he was in my Hands.* Here was a fair Opportunity for the Doctor to have vindicated himſelf from this Slander of his Enemies, by only ſaying that he had given him better Inſtructions. But ſince Silence is always adjudg'd to give Conſent, we muſt join in Opinion with Duke *Lauderdale*, that the Pupil was not unworthy the Tutor. Here

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in Juſtice we ought to take Notice of the Author's Ingenuity, in not juſtifying himſelf at the Expence of his Veracity: But the Merit of this Sincerity is deſtroy'd by his having ſo much a better Opinion of the Treaſon, and by thinking it a greater Honor to be guilty, than innocent.

In his Account of the Rebellion at this Time, Dr. **Burnet** with his uſual Candour, will allow no Crime to be committed by his Friends, but by Chance without any Deſign. This is the Turn which he gives to the preſent Inſurrection; tho' he allows their Numbers to amount to 4000 Combatants, which well conſider'd, muſt require ſome Time and Preparation to get together ſo many Men and Arms, in a Corner of a Country no better Peopl'd than *Scotland*. But we will at this Time of Day allow the Author to miſrepreſent what he pleaſes, to impoſe on his Readers by the falſeſt Turns that he can give to Men and Things; if he wou'd ſo far ſtick to Truth, as not to invent out of his own Brain, what never had exiſted any where elſe. Of this Nature is the Story of King Charles, and the Duke of *York*; as if they ſhou'd repine, that theſe Wretches were not all put to the Sword by *Monmouth*, of which Matter he ſays thus.

P. 473. *The Duke of* Monmonth *ſtopt the Execution that his Men were making, as ſoon as he cou'd, and ſaved the Priſoners; for ſome mov'd, that they ſhou'd all be kill'd on the Spot. Yet this was afterward objected to him, as a Neglect of the King's Service, and a courting the People: The Duke of* York *talk'd of it in the ſame Strain, and the King himſelf ſaid to him, that if he had been there, they ſhou'd not have had the Trouble of Priſoners.* This is ſo very unlike the Natue and the Character of the two Brothers, that this Story muſt come from much better Authority to be believ,d. It is ſtrange that the Sword of War ſhou'd be ſo very ſharp, and that of Juſtice ſo blunt in the ſame Hands; if theſe Princes were ſo ſanguinary and cruel in their Tempers, why did they not gratify their Thirſt of Blood upon that Part of theſe Miſcreants who fell into their Hands? He owns himſelf that 1200 were taken Priſoners, out of which Number, but two of the leading incendiary Preachers were hang'd, with ſome few others, who by the Mercy of the Duke, with the Ropes about their Necks, had Offers of Pardon, on Condition they wou'd pray for the King, which they abſolutely refus'd, when the Wretches might have ſaved Body and Soul at no other Expence, but embracing Chriſtianity.

As the Author is pleaſed to exculpate theſe Fanaticks as much as he can, by laying the blame on the Tyranny of Duke *Lauderdale*, which as he inſinuates, drove them to Deſpair; we will ſhew what Sort of Men theſe were, in whoſe Actions and Principles the Quinteſſence of *Scotch* Presbytery at this Time may be ſeen. This Extravagance exceeded our fifth Monarchy Men, and muſt divert the Reader. It is a kind of Declaration, drawn by ſome of theſe *Enthuſiaſts* when they were Priſoners at *Edenburgh*, and runs thus. " We Underſcribers, now " Priſoners for the Truth in the *Cannon-* " *gate Tolbooth*, tho' vile, yet it pleaſed the " Holy Ghoſt to work on our Spirits,—— " Yeſterday being the 26th Day of the fifth " Month, it ſeem'd good to the Holy Ghoſt, " and to us, to take out of our Bibles the " Pſalms in Metre, for ſeveral Cauſes men- " tion'd afterward; for the Revelations ſay, " that if any Man ſhall add unto theſe " Things, God ſhall add unto him the " Plagues that are mention'd in this Book, " and we did burn them in our Priſon-houſe, " and ſweep away the Aſhes; likewiſe in " the holy Scriptures we renounce Chapters, " and Verſes, and Contents, becauſe it is " only done by human Wiſdom, and the " changing of the Books after the Holy " Ghoſt had placed them. We being preſs-

" ed

" ed to this Work by the Holy Ghoſt, do
" renounce the Impreſſion and Tranſlation
" of the Old and new Teſtament, and that
" for Additions put unto them by Men.
" We renounce and decline all Authority
" throughout the World, and all that are
" in Authority, and all their Acts and E-
" dicts, from the Tyrant *Charles Stuart* to
" the loweſt Tyrant, and burn them.——
" We renounce the Names of Months, as
" *January*, *February*, *March*, &c. As al-
" ſo *Sunday*, *Monday*, *Tueſday*, &c.

Sign'd
Walter Ker,
John Gibb,
David Jamiſon,
John Young.

Here Huſe fit man to be executed?

THIS is exactly compar'd and collated with the principal Copy, by me
William Paterſon,
Cl. Sti. Concilii.

IT is the leſs Wonder, that our Author ſhould have ſome Kindneſs for this Sort of Men, if it be true what has been credibly reported, that he himſelf in ſome Parts of his Life was by Fits touch'd with this Sort of Enthuſiaſm, ſo far as to be a little on the Viſionary, in Imitation of his Friend Dr. *Leighton*; ſo that it would not ſeem ſtrange, if during theſe lucid Intervals of Inſpiration,

while

while he labour'd under ſo vaſt an Infuſion of Spirit, he ſhould at thoſe Times have join'd in Communion with theſe holy Men.

P. 480. *The Perſon to whom the preſent Mayor had drunk was ſet aſide, and* Bethel *and* Corniſh *were choſen Sheriffs for the enſuing Year.* Bethel *was a Man of Knowledge, and had writ a very judicious Book of the Intereſt of Princes: But as he was a known Republican in Principle, ſo he was a ſullen and a wilful Man; and turn'd from the ordinary way of a Sheriff's living, into the extream of Sordidneſs, which was very unacceptable to the Body of the Citizens, and prov'd a very great Prejudice to the Party.* Corniſh *the other Sheriff, was a plain, warm, honeſt Man, and liv'd very nobly all this Year. The Court was very jealous of this, and underſtood it to be done on deſign to pack Juries: So that the Party might be always ſafe, whatever they might engage in. It was ſaid that the King would not have common Juſtice done him hereafter againſt any of them, how guilty ſoever. The ſetting up* Bethel *gave a great Colour to this Jealouſy; for it was ſaid, that he had expreſſed his approving the late King's Death in very indecent Terms. Theſe two Perſons had never before receiv'd the Sacrament in the Church, being Independents; but they did it now to qualify themſelves for this Office, which gave great Advantages againſt the whole Party: It was ſaid, that the ſerving an*

End

End was a good Reſolver of all Caſes of Conſcience, and purg'd all Scruples. This is the Author's Character of theſe two Men, and I believe it is very juſt and impartial. The Uſe that I ſhall make of this ingenuous Deſcription of theſe two Sheriffs, is to ſhew how unguarded and inconſiſtent he is; after inſinuating that they were put into this Office on purpoſe to make what Juries they pleas'd, and after his own ſuſpicious Character of them, he moſt ſtrenuouſly ſupports all their Violences, and ſcandalous Management in packing their *Ignoramus* Juries. Two Independant Magiſtrates were like to make fine Work in a Government confin'd to a Church of *England* Adminiſtration. As we ſhall have ſomewhat to do with theſe Gentlemen by and by, that the Reader may have a better View of them, we ſhall tell him a very ſhort Story. When my Lord *Stafford* went to Execution, ſome of the deluded Rabble on *Tower-Hill* inſulted him, upon which the Priſoner addreſt himſelf to the Sheriffs, deſiring them to appeaſe the People, that he might die in Quiet; to this Requeſt, Mr. Sheriff *Bethel* brutally reply'd, *Sir, we have Orders to ſtop no Body's Breath, but yours.*

I find in Inſtances Hist. 3. 495. 49° confirmed what he says here

P. 499. *So very ſuddenly and not very decently he came to the Houſe of Lords, the Crown being carry'd between his Feet in a Sedan.*

Sedan. This is ſmart again; the Author has ſometimes a kind of Wit and Satyr in his Anger. But to ſhew the Reader how ridiculous this Story is; the Robes were as neceſſary as the Crown, at the King's Appearance on the Throne; and the Truth of the Matter is, the Crown was put in the Bag with the Robes, and ſent privately before, to prevent any Inkling of the deſign'd Diſſolution. The Author undoubtedly hugged himſelf with this witty Story, which may ſerve for an Appendix to his noble Tale of the Queen and the Cart.

P. ibid. So upon this I went into a cloſer Retirement, and to keep my Mind from running after News and Affairs, I ſet my ſelf to the Study of Philoſophy and Algebra. It is hard that the Doctor's own Profeſſion could not divert him from News and Politicks, if he had piouſly diſcharg'd his Function, without being oblig'd to apply himſelf to Algebra. How his Head was turn'd to thoſe abſtruſe and ſpeculative Sciences we know not, but if he made no better Progreſs in them, than in his Divinity, I reflect not on his Capacity or Knowledge, but Soundneſs of Doctrines, we may venture to ſay, that he was not ſo great a Mathematician as Sir *Iſaac Newton*, no more than he was as good a Caſuiſt as Dr. *Sanderſon*. After this, the Reader may expect to hear

of

of ſome new Intrigues; it is remarkable, that this Author never retreats, but to ſally again and do more Miſchief; as if he only retir'd to give Breath to his Malice, and faſted a while, to return to his Prey with greater Appetite; like a certain deform'd Creature, who after he has ſpent his Stock on the moſt ſalutary Herbs in the Garden, retreats into the Earth to gather freſh Venom, and reinforce his Poiſon.

P. 501. *And ſuch of the Clergy as would not engage in that Fury, were cryed out upon as the Betrayers of the Church, and as ſecret Favourers of the Diſſenters. The Truth is, the Number of theſe were not great: One obſerv'd right, that according to the Proverb in the Goſpel, where the Carcaſs is, there the Eagles will be gathered together. The Scent of Preferment, will draw aſpiring Men after it.* The Author before attack'd the dignify'd Clergy, and now he falls upon the whole Body, makes them the laſt of Mankind, without Honor, Principle or Conſcience; Men that would ſacrifice every thing to Intereſt and Preferment. The ſmall Exception that he makes, renders his Charge univerſal. Nothing can be ſo hard as the Condition of the Clergy in *England;* they have always been the Marks and Butts of that Part of the Laity, who were looſe and libertine in their Principles;

ples; their Failings have always been look'd on thro' magnifying Glaſſes, and their Virtues unreguarded; from theſe Men they have found no Quarter; but this unjuſt and cruel Treatment from one of their own Order, is the laſt Barbarity. The comparing his Brethren to Birds of Prey, gives a fine Idea of the Rapacity of the Clergy, and enables the Scorner to inſult Religion, depreciates the very Character of the Prieſthood, and proſtitutes to the Ridicule of Buffoons and Atheiſts, the Dignity of that Gown which he had the Honour to wear.

P. 504. *I went no more to* Fitzharris: *But* Hawkins *the Miniſter of the* Tower *took him into his Management; and prevail'd with him not only to deny all his former Diſcovery, but to lay it on* Clayton, Treby, *and the Sheriffs, as a Subornation of theirs; tho' it is evident, that it was impoſſible to be true. Yet at the ſame Time, he writ Letters to his Wife, who was not then admitted to him, which I ſaw and read, in which he told her, how he was practis'd upon with Hopes of Life. He charg'd her to ſwear falſly againſt none: One of theſe was writ that very Morning in which he ſuffer'd, and yet before he was led out, he ſign'd a Paper containing the former Charge of Subordination, and put it in* Hawkins's *Hands, and at* Tyburn *he referr'd all he had to ſay*

compare this with 497, 498 of the History. which is answered nor does it ſhew the Inſincerity of the Author in Echard.

to that Paper, which was immediately publiſh'd. As this Affair made a very great Noiſe at the time, to come at the Truth, we muſt ſee what other Hiſtories ſay on this Subject. *Eachard, p.* 1004. " Being in " this Place fetter'd, monyleſs, and friend- " leſs, and his Wife and Family in a ſtar- " ving Condition, he was ſtrangely tempted " by ſeveral inſinuating Examinations, as " we are inform'd, from his dying Confeſ- " ſion. Particularly the two Sheriffs *Bethel* " and *Corniſh* came to him with a Token " from Lord *Howard*, which he knew to " be true; and brought Heads from *Eve-* " *rard* accuſing him of being an Emiſſary, " employ'd by the King to put the Libels " into Proteſtants Houſes, which he utterly " deny'd. They told him that he was to " be try'd within three or four Days, that " the People wou'd proſecute him, and the " Parliament impeach him, and that no- " thing wou'd ſave his Life but diſcovering " the Popiſh Plot. And then they encou- " rag'd him from the Lord *Howard*, that if " he wou'd declare that he believ'd ſo much " of the Plot, as amounted to the introdu- " cing the King, or if he could find out " any that wou'd charge the Queen, his " Royal Highneſs, or make ſo much as a " plauſible Story to confirm the Plot, the " Parliament would reſtore him to his Fa- " ther's Eſtate, with the Profits thereof

" ſince

" ſince the Reſtoration. Finding himſelf in " a miſerable Condition, he ſoon began to " ſhew a Compliance, and to hearken to " the particular Inſtructions they brought, " which they ſaid came from forty Lords " and Commons, who met that Day to ad- " dreſs the King in his behalf; if he ſhou'd " confirm their Inſtructions." Mr. *Eachard* proceeds in the Detail of this villanous Deſign of Subornation, by which the Reader may ſee the fine Management of the two independent Sheriffs. The only fair Way to proceed with a Perſon in ſuch Circumſtances, is to preſs and adjure him to ſpeak the Truth, and nothing but the Truth, without any other Inſtruction; but to tell a Man with a Halter before his Eyes, that he ſhou'd be try'd in a few Days, and certainly be hang'd if he would not do ſo and ſo, and then on the other Hand, tempt him with Rewards, was certainly putting Words in his Mouth, and tampering in all Reſpects. If this was not an Attempt of Subornation, we muſt unlearn the *Engliſh* Tongue, and look for ſome other Signification of that Word.

As we are acquainted with what *Fitzharris* confeſt, there only remains to know if he perſever'd in this Confeſſion to the laſt. Let us ſee therefore how he behav'd himſelf at his Execution, of which the ſame

Hiſtorian ſays. " He referr'd what he had " further to declare to what he had left " with Dr. *Hawkins*. The two Sheriffs " not ſatisfy'd, urg'd him to ſpeak more " fully; and Mr. *Bethel* ſaid, Mr. *Fitz-* " *harris*, you declar'd when you were in " *Newgate*, that you knew more of the " Popiſh Plot than any Man, you ought " to declare what you know before you " die.——He ſtill referr'd to what he had " left with Dr. *Hawkins*, which made them " very earneſt to know what it was, and " where; but the Doctor told them, that " they were Papers which were not proba- " bly in his Power to produce; and having " Notice before of the deſign of ſtifling the " Confeſſion, by his not owning it at his " Death; he deſir'd the dying Man to de- " clare, whether all that he had left with " him were true. The Sheriffs ſeem'd much " concern'd that he ſhou'd put this Que- " ſtion to him, and ſaid, that he had no- " thing to do to put ſuch Queſtions there, " nor ſhould he. He quickly reply'd, ſhall " I not bid the dying Man ſpeak the Truth? " upon which *Fitzharris* turn'd to him, " and ſaid, Yes, it is true." By theſe Accounts, we may ſee how Dr. **Burnet** to fling his own and the Guilt of his Friends, on Dr. *Hawkins* and the Court, has miſrepreſented this Matter. If the common Opinion at this time was not unjuſt to the Au-

thor,

thor, the Share that he had in the Management of this vile Affair, was one of the blackeſt Scenes of his Life. It is not unpleaſant, when he ſays, *I went no more to* Fitzharris; it is very true, the Court wou'd not let him, having no great Opinion of his being a good Confeſſor. But notwithſtanding all his Miſrepreſentation, the Short of the Caſe was this. Here is a wicked Man under the Terrors of certain Death, preſt by two Parties, the one wou'd perſuade him to do Juſtice to the King, the Government, and his own Soul, by a frank Confeſſion; the others, who had ſuborn'd him, to ſtand to his Evidence. As ſoon as Dr. **Burnet**, by his own Confeſſion, went no more near him; having the Happineſs to fall into the Hands of a more faithful ſpiritual Guide, and being no longer ſupported againſt the Impulſes of his Conſcience, he could no longer reſiſt; the Charm was ended, and he ſoon disburthens his Load by a hearty Confeſſion. On this, the Suborners finding their Roguery diſcover'd, endeavour to bring him back, and make him recant his Confeſſion, as appears by Mr. *Eachard.* This they could attempt no other way, but by engaging his Wife, who was a very ill Woman: She cou'd not reſiſt the Temptation of 300 *Guineas* down, and three a Week; but ſollicits her Husband to a Recantation; the poor Man fluctated ſome

time under this Temptation; but when Death approach'd, his Soul was dearer than any Thing he cou'd leave behind; he renews his Confeſſion, ſigns it before he went into the Sledge; and this he confirm'd with his laſt Breath at the Gallows. As the Declaration of a dying Man is a kind of Will and Teſtament, the laſt Aſſertion is the moſt ſacred, being the Codicil that gives the Saction, confirms or deſtroys the reſt. The two independent Sheriffs conſcious of their Guilt, would have perſuaded him to have confirm'd the Lies to which he had ſworn in his former Evidence; in order to this, with as much Ignorance as Brutality, they interrupted a Miniſter in the moſt ſacred and ſolemn Duty of his Function, would have hinder'd a Confeſſor from exhorting his Penitent to ſpeak the Truth, and ſhame the Devil, tho' not the Doctor.

THERE is no need of ſaying more to clear this Matter, the Nature of the Thing ſpeaks its ſelf. If the Court thro' the Influence of Dr. *Hawkins*, had prevail'd on *Fitzharris* to accuſe thoſe Gentlemen falſely of Subornation, they muſt at leaſt have tempted him with a Promiſe of Life; afterward, when they broke their Word, and he came to dye, if it were only in Revenge, he wou'd certainly have told the Truth, and diſcover'd the Knavery, being under no manner of

Tempta-

Temptation, to perſevere in a Lie to the very laſt Moment, for the ſake of Men who had rewarded him with a Halter.

P. 510. *About a Year before this,* Tongue *dy'd, who firſt brought out* Oates, *they quarrell'd afterwards, and* Tongue *came to have a very bad Opinion of* Oates, *upon what reaſon, I know not.* There is a very remarkable Story in Mr. *Eachard,* that will give great light into this Matter. *Eachard, P.* 949. "As "ſoon as *Oates* was by the Parliament "eſteem'd the prime Diſcoverer of the Plot, "his Reputation in the height, and all Per-"ſons inflam'd with the Horror of it, about "twenty eminent rich Citizens, entire Be-"lievers of the whole, met at a great Sup-"per in the City, to which they invited "Dr. *Tongue*, Mr. *Oates*, and another noted "Divine, who had been often favour'd with "the King's private Converſation. Theſe "three were handſomely entertain'd, and "particularly careſs'd by the reſt of the "Company; but their higheſt and diſtin-"guiſhing Compliments were pay'd to Mr. "*Oates*, and with ſuch a ſeeming Deroga-"tion, to the Honour of Dr. *Tongue*, who "valu'd himſelf and his Abilities as much "as any Man, that there aroſe a verbal "Quarrel between theſe two Confederates, "which came to that height, that the Doc-"tor plainly told *Oates*, that he knew no-

" thing of the Plot but what he learnt from
" him. Theſe dangerous Words diſturb'd
" and confounded the whole Company; and
" had ſuch an Effect upon one of them,
" who was thought to be a Spy, that the
" very next Morning he went to the King
" and told him the whole Paſſage and Tranſ-
" action. Upon which, his Majeſty imme-
" diately ſent for the forementioned Divine,
" in whom he had a good Confidence, and
" opening the Matter to him, he let him
" know, that he expected to hear the Par-
" ticulars from him. But he made ſome
" Excuſes, and particularly alledg'd the Bad-
" neſs of his Memory; at which the King
" ſaid in a Paſſion, if you are good for any
" thing it is for your Memory; and then
" let him know that he had heard ſufficient
" of the Matter already, but expected it all
" from him; but he ſtill pretended not to
" remember it, or elſe gave ſo imperfect an
" Account of it, that the King incens'd, at
" laſt ſpoke to this Effect to him. I find
" there is like to be a great deal of Blood-
" ſhed about this Plot, and the Times are
" ſo troubleſome and dangerous to me, that
" I durſt not venture to pardon any that is
" Condemn'd; Therefore their Blood be
" upon your Head, and not mine; and I
" deſire to ſee you no more, and ſo finally
" diſmiſs'd him his Preſence." If Mr. *Eachard* had been leſs tender of certain Perſon's

This agree with the Kings confidence in him.

ſon's Reputation, ſo as to have nam'd this noted Divine, we ſhould probably have known, whether Dr. **Burnet** ſpoke Truth or no, when he affirms, that he knew not the reaſon of the Quarrel between *Oates* and *Tongue*.

P. 522. *As he was going back to bring the Dutcheſs, the* Glouceſter *Frigat that carried him ſtruck on a Bank of Sand. The Duke went into a Boat, and took care of his Dogs, and ſome unknown Perſons, who were taken from that care of his, to be his Prieſts. The Long-Boat went off with a very few in her, tho' ſhe might have carried above* 80 *more than ſhe did, one hundred and fifty Perſons periſh'd, ſome of them of very great Quality, &c.* This Account is diametically oppoſite to Truth in every Circumſtance, and could proceed from nothing but the moſt infernal Malice inſpir'd by the Father of all Falſhood.

In the firſt place here is a Confuſion in the Account of the Boat, in which the Duke was ſaved; at firſt he ſays, the Duke went into the Boat, afterward that the Long-Boat went off.—Whether he means the ſame Veſſel by theſe differing Appellations we are at a loſs; but we will ſuppoſe it on the ſtronger Side for the Author, and let it be the Long-Boat, which he ſays went of ſo empty, that ſhe wou'd have ſtill carried 80 more

more Perſons. The Reader ſhall preſently ſee whether the Carpenters at the Docks, know more of this Matter than Dr. **Burnet**. The Dimenſions of the Long-Boat belonging to the *Glouceſter*, according to her Rate, muſt be as follows. Length *per* Keel 30 F. Breath *per* Beam 11 F. which allowing the utmoſt Number of Men that ſhe could carry, does not exceed 80; but what could our Author ſay, if the Duke went not off in the Long-Boat, but the Pinnace or Boat with Oars, which with the Rowers and Coxon wou'd not carry half that Number. But whatever the Boat or her Complement was, Colonel *Leg*, afterward Lord *Dartmouth*, ſaw her ſo deeply loaded, that he wou'd not enter himſelf for fear of ſinking her, and leaſt any Body elſe ſhould attempt it, he and the Captain, who was afterward ſav'd by a Rope over the Stern, were forc'd to draw their Swords on the ſide of the Ship. After this Account, is it probable that Sir *John Berry*, the Captain of the Ship, and my Lord *Dartmouth*, ſhould ſuffer a Boat that wou'd have held eighty more Perſons to have gone off, and left them behind to periſh? Notwithſtanding the Notoriety of all theſe Facts, this harden'd Man has the Confidence to tell the World, that the Pinnace of a Frigate wou'd ſtill have contain'd 80 more Perſons. As to the People of Quality that were loſt in this Hurry

and Confusion, I am sorry to mention what was generally said and believ'd at the time, that some of them were in a Condition which render'd it impracticable to wake them; so that in such a Confusion, when every Man is to save his own Life, it is no great Wonder that they were neglected, who could not shift for themselves. The Story of the Dogs and the Priests is all of a piece with the rest: Every one knows, who were the Persons that the Duke distinguish'd and call'd in this great Distress; but if he had thought fit to have sav'd his Dogs, it would have done him no great harm; they would not afterwards have bit him: Those honest Creatures would always have lick'd the Hands that fed them, and as they are the Emblems of Fidelity, would never have deserted their Master. But this Story of the Dogs is as idle, and silly, as it is false and malicious; for it is very well known that the famous *Mumper*, the Duke's favourite Dog, was drown'd, after having fought a good while, and disputed a Plank with Sir *Charles Scarborough*. This was so very notorious, that a foolish Ballad, which is sung to this Day, was made at the time upon this ridiculous Rencounter between the Dog and the Doctor. If the Reader could doubt before of this Author's being the most shameless of Writers, this very Story is enough to convince him.

This Story of the Dogs was cre- dibly reported before the Pu- blication of this History.

NOTHING

NOTHING can be ſo aſtoniſhing as the implacable Malice of this Man; tho' ſure to be contradicted, he wou'd ſacrifice his Reputation to the Indulgence of his Revenge. This ſhews how that Paſſion was fix'd in his Nature as not to be eradicated; he muſt know that there were thouſands alive who could have confuted him in this Matter; but he choſe rather to poyſon one Man, than not to be cenſur'd by twenty: If he had been more guarded, and carry'd on his Deſign with great Addreſs and Cunning, the Miſchiefs that he wou'd have done might have been irreparable; but the Miſdom of Providence and Nature who gave him Horns, to make good the Proverb, thought fit to contract and blunt them.

P. 528. He proceeds to the great Conteſt in the City, upon the Election of Sheriffs. In this Account he is ſo infamouſly partial, as to leave it doubtful whether the Falſhood of the Facts, or his Aſſurance in telling them be greater. He begins thus. *At Midſummer a new Conteſt diſcover'd how little the Court reſolved to regard either Juſtice or Decency,* —— *P. Ibid. When the Day came, in which the Mayor uſed to drink to one, and mark him out for Sheriff, he drank to* North, *a Merchant, that was Brother to the Chief-Juſtice. Upon that, it was pretended, that this*

this Ceremony, was not a bare Nomination, which the Common-Hall might receive or refuse, as they had a Mind to it: But that this made the Sheriff, and that the Common-Hall was bound to receive and confirm him in Course, as the King did the Mayor. On the other Hand it was said, that the Right was to be determined by the Charter, which granted the Election of Sheriffs to the Citizens of London; *and that whatever Customs had crept in among them, the Right still lay where the Charter had lodg'd it, among the Citizens. But the Court was resolved to carry this Point; and they found Orders that had been made in the Pity, concerning this Particular; which gave some Colour to the Pretension of the Mayor.——The Sheriffs were always understood to be the Officers of that Court; so the Adjourning it belonged to them: Yet the Mayor adjourn'd the Court, which, they said, he had no Power to do; and so went on with the Poll. There was no Disorder in the whole Progress of the Matter. But tho' the Mayor's Party carried themselves with great Insolence to the other Party, yet they shewed on this Occasion more Temper than could have been expected from so great a Body, &c.* I must desire my Readers, who are Citizens of *London*, to remark, that the Author is as ill-bred to a Lord-Mayor of *London*, as to a Peer of the Realm,

Realm, who is not of his Kidney. Sir *John Moor* was a Tory; and therefore not to be treated with the Title of Lord, as it is to be obſerv'd in this whole Quotation; he has not once vouchſafed this Honour to that unfortunate Gentleman; but treats the greateſt Citizen of the Univerſe, tho' enobled by ſo many Crowns, with no more Diſtinction: That this could not proceed from Negligence is certain; for in this Caſe, the Eye or the Ear will direct the Writer or Speaker; and I aver it to be equally as unnatural, for a Man bred in *England*, to write, or ſay, Mayor of *London*; as it would be to call an Oſtler, in a certain Borough, Lord-Mayor of *Stockbridge*: Tho' this is another Trifle in it ſelf, it ſhews the Man in Miniature, and makes the Malignity of his Nature as apparent, as when on other Occaſions we have unmask'd, and expos'd him to the Light in a larger Attitude. The Reader has ſeen the Author's Account of this Matter, and will, no doubt, be very much ſurprized to find the Truth ſo diſguis'd and falſified. Leſt our ſingle Authority in contradicting him ſhould not have its Weight, we muſt have recourſe to the common Chronicles, which, as to plain Matter of Fact, are, or ought to be Records. *Eachard*, p. 1021. The 24th of

" *June*, the cuſtomary Day for electing of
" Sheriffs of *London* for the enſuing Year,

was

" was the great Time of Struggle between
" the two Parties: Not long before at a
" Dinner call'd the *Bridg-Houſe* Feaſt, the
" Lord-Mayor, according to ancient Cuſ-
" tom, had choſen Mr. *Dudley North*,
" by the Ceremony of drinking to him;
" and thereupon iſſu'd out his Summons to
" the ſeveral Companies, to appear at
" *Guild-Hall*, on the 24th of *June* for the
" Confirmation of Mr. *North*, and for the
" Election of another Sheriff. At the ap-
" pointed Day, a vaſt Concourſe of People
" aſſembled at *Guild-Hall*, reſolving to
" oppoſe the Lord-Mayor, who was ſit-
" ting with the Sheriffs on the *Huſtings*.
" There were two Parties appear'd in Com-
" petition; Mr. *North* and Mr. *Box* on the
" *Tory* Party, and Mr. *Papillon* and Mr.
" *Dubois* on the other. The Poll was ma-
" nag'd by the preſent Sheriffs, Mr. *Pilkin-*
" *ton* and Mr. *Shut*: In which it was ob-
" ſerv'd, that the Names of thoſe who poll'd
" for the Confirmation of *North*, and the
" Election of *Box*, were refus'd to be en-
" ter'd; and on the other Side, it was ſaid,
" that ſeveral Mens Names were enter'd,
" who were not actually preſent, or not
" duly entitled to vote. The Lord-Mayor
" ſeeing this violent Oppoſition, by Procla-
" mation adjourn'd the Court to the 27th
" of *June*, and departed the Hall. Upon
" proclaiming *God ſave the King*, the Peo-

ple

" ple hiſs'd, and cry'd *God ſave the Pro-*
" *teſtant Sheriffs;* and preſs'd ſo hard upon
" the Lord-Mayor, that he was thrown
" upon his Knees, and endanger'd by the
" Croud. Notwithſtanding this Adjourn-
" ment, and aginſt more than one expreſs
" Command of the Lord-Mayor; the two
" Sheriffs continu'd to poll till Night. The
" next Day being *Sunday*, admitted of no
" Buſineſs. *Monday*-morning the Lord-
" Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and the two
" Sheriffs were ſent for, to appear before
" the King and Council; where the Mat-
" ter being fully examined, the two She-
" riffs were committed Priſoners to the Tow-
" er, by a Warrant ſign'd by twenty four
" Privy Counſellours. Beſides this, before
the Affair was over, they raiſ'd new Seditions; for which the two Sheriffs and twelve other leading Men, were try'd for theſe flagrant Riots at *Guild-Hall*; upon an Information in the Crown-Office, which ran thus, That there had been a riotous and un-
" lawful Aſſembly of a thouſands Perſons
" unknown, who endeavour'd to raiſe a
" Tumult by Clamours, Outicres and Diſor-
" ders, in Contempt of the Laws; aſſaulted
" the Lord-Mayor, forc'd him upon his
" Knees, threw of his Hat, beat down the
" Sword, and continu'd the Hall after a le-
" gal Adjournment, *&c.* Of this Tumult theſe Gentlemen were convicted, the two

Sheriffs were fined, the one in five hundred Pound, and the other a thouſand Marks. After the Notoriety of theſe Facts, what muſt we think of this Author, who has the Brow to tell Poſterity, " That there was no " Diſorder in the Progreſs of the whole " Matter ?" But there are thouſands of living Witneſſes at this Day to contradict him. One would believe, that the Author hop'd to live ſo long himſelf, that no one would remain to aſſert the Truth againſt his Poſthumous Work; otherwiſe he would not have ventur'd thus to impoſe on the World, by denying theſe Tumults and Seditions, which were ſo very flagrant, as to cauſe the two Sheriffs to be impriſon'd ; an Incident, which has not often happen'd ſince the Incorporation of the City. The mutinous Conduct of the Diſaffected at this Time, was look'd on by all impartial Perſons, as one of the greateſt Blemiſhes in the moſt illuſtrious Body of Citizens in *Europe*. When an Author will ſo diveſt himſelf of all Shame, as to oppoſe the Torrent of Truth, what will become of Hiſtory ? If ſuch Tumults and Seditions are to be expreſs'd by the Words, *no Diſorder in the whole Progreſs* ; if a violent Aſſault on the Perſon of the chief Magiſtrate, throwing him on his Knees, taking away his Hat, and beating down the chief Enſigns of his Power and Dignity, may be ſaid, *to act with Temper*,

we muſt make a new Dictionary for the *Engliſh* Language. The beſt Advice that we can give the Reader, that he may be the leaſt deceiv'd, when he has to do with this Writer, is to believe directly contrary to what he affirms, and like a Conjurer, always read him backwards. I cannot part with this Subject without one ſhort Remark; that notwithſtanding the Power of the *Lord Mayor* was ſo diſputed at this Controverſy, ſuch is the Diſingenuity of Mankind, that we have liv'd to ſee, within leſs than twenty Moons, the ſame Party of Men ſupport an Election on their Side by the ſame Authority. *This Remark is not right.*

After this infamous Account, in regard to the Election of *Sheriffs*, Dr. **Burnet** never ſhrinks, but goes boldly forward in his conſtant Tract of Miſrepreſentation and Calumny. The Election of a *Lord Mayor* gives him a new Opportunity of ſhewing his wonted Candour, *p.* 530. *When* Michaelmas-day *came, thoſe who found how much they had been deceived in* Moor, *reſolved to chuſe a* Mayor *that might be depended on. The Poll was cloſed when the Court thought that they had the Majority: But upon caſting up, it appear'd that they had loſt it. So they fell to canvas it, and they made ſuch Exceptions to thoſe of the other Side, that they diſcounted as many*

Voices

Voices as gave them the Majority. This was alſo managed in ſo groſs a manner, that it was viſible the Court was reſolved by fair or foul Means, to have the Government of the City in their own Hands, &c. We muſt confute him with the ſame Authority. *Echard*, p. 1022. A new Struggle " happen'd on *Michaelmas-Day*, which be- " ing the cuſtomary time for the Election of " a *Lord Mayor*, the Whig Party muſter'd " their utmoſt Strength againſt Sir *Will-* " *iam Prichard*, who was next in Courſe, " and ſet up againſt him two ſeveral Alder- " men, *Gould*, and *Corniſh*, of whom the " laſt had been Sheriff but the Year before; " on the firſt Appearance theſe two had the " Majority of Votes; till at laſt upon a long " Scrutiny, and a thorough Examination " into the Capacity of the Voters, it was " found that a great Number had appeared " for them, who were not legally entitled " to Voices, and, as it was reported, no " leſs than ſixty in the ſingle Company of " the *Merchant-Taylors*; which Kind of " People being ſtruck out of the Number, " it appear'd that Sir *William Prichard* " had 2138 Votes, *Gould* 2124, and *Cor-* " *niſh* 2093. Whereupon Sir *William* " *Prichard* on the 27th Day of *October*, " was by the Court of Aldermen declar'd " *Lord Mayor* Elect. Nothing can be more ſhocking than the Author's foregoing

Misrepresentation of this Contest. Because a Number of Men unqualified had the Impudence to Vote without having any Right; this candid Author would not have these false Voices rejected, but charges the Court with a visible *Design of having the Government of the City in their own Hands.* As the *Sheriffs* have the Management and Inspection of the Poll, it is to be presum'd, that upon the Scrutiny, they wou'd not permit any wrong to be done to their own Party. If the Author could have asserted and prov'd, that any Injustice had been done in rejecting the unqualified Voices, his Pretence wou'd have been more pertinent as well as just. The Reader has seen these two contrary Accounts, and I leave it to him, which he will believe, the Bishop, or Mr. Archdeacon.

P. 535. *The Attorney General moved contrary to what is usual in such Cases, that the Judgment might not be recorded, and upon that, new Endeavours were used to bring the Common Council to deliver up their Charter: Yet that could not be compassed, tho' it was brought much nearer in the Number of the Voices than was imagined ever could be done.* To see whether he is right or no in this Assertion, we must be inform'd first of the Conditions to which they submitted. Upon Judgment being given in the

the *Kings-Bench*, the *Lord Mayor* and Aldermen went to *Windſor*, with a moſt humble and ſubmiſſive Petition to implore the King's Mercy; in anſwer to which, the Lord-Keeper *North* in the King's Name, gave them to underſtand, that his Majeſty was inclined to ſhew them ſome Favour, on Submiſſion to the following Conditions. 1. *That no* Lord Mayor, Sheriff, Recorder, Common-Serjeant, Town-Clerk, *or* Coroner *of the City of* London; *or* Steward *of the Borough of* Southwark, *ſhall be capable of, or admitted to the Exerciſe of their reſpective Offices, before his Majeſty ſhall have approv'd them under his Sign Manual.* 2. *That if his Majeſty ſhall diſapprove the Choice of any Perſon to be* Lord Mayor, *and ſignify the ſame under his Sign Manual to the* Lord Mayor, *or in default of a* Lord Mayor, *to the* Recorder, *or ſenior Alderman, the Citizens ſhall within one Week proceed to a new Choice: And if his Majeſty ſhall in like Manner diſapprove the ſecond Choice, his Majeſty may, if he pleaſe, nominate a Perſon to be* Lord Mayor *for the enſuing Year.* 3. *If his Majeſty ſhall in like manner diſapprove the Perſons choſen to be* Sheriffs, *or either of them, his Majeſty may appoint Perſons to be* Sheriffs *for the enſuing Year, by his Commiſſion, if he ſo pleaſe.* 4. *The* Lord Mayor *and* Court of Aldermen, *may alſo with Leave of his Majeſty, diſplace*

any Alderman, Recorder, &c. 5. *Upon the Election of an* Alderman, *if the* Court of Aldermen *ſhall judge, and declare the Perſon preſented to be unfit, the* Ward *ſhall chuſe again; and upon a Diſproval of the ſecond Choice, the Court may appoint another in his Room,* &c. After this Declaration, he concluded, *My* Lord Mayor, *the Term draws towards an End, and* Midſummer-Day *is at Hand when ſome of the Officers us'd to be choſen, whereof his Majeſty will reſerve the Approbation. Therefore it is his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that you return to the City, and conſult the* Common-Council, *that he may ſpeedily know your Reſolutions hereupon, and accordingly give his Directions; and that you may ſee the King is in Earneſt, and the Matter is not capable of Delay, I am commanded to let you know, he has given Order to his Attorney-General to enter up Judgment on* Saturday *next, unleſs you prevent it by your Complyance in all theſe Particulars.* What followed upon this, Mr. *Eachard* will inform us, *p.* 1027. *According to this Order, a Court of Common-Council two Days after was held again in* Guild-Hall, *where the Queſtion being put, whether they ſhould aſſent and ſubmit to his Majeſty's Orders of Regulations, as above expreſſed; the Court was divided, but it was carried in the Affirmative by a Majority of eighteen Voices, the*

Judgment was entered.

the Yeas being 104, *and the Noes* 86. *The next Day, the* Sheriffs *waited on his Majeſty at* Windſor *to ſatisfy him, that they had ſubmitted to his Regulations*, &c. If an entire Submiſſion to theſe hard Conditions and Regulations was not in effect an abſolute Surrender of their Charter, unleſs it were neceſſary to bring the Indenture in a Box, we cannot imagine what Name to give it. Notwithſtanding this Certitude in the preciſe Number of the Voices *pro* and *con*, the Author thinks fit to affirm, that this Affair was carried on the other Side; by which we may ſee, how little we can depend on what he ſays in the moſt notorious Matters of Fact. As we can find no other Time, that this Affair of ſubmitting their Priviledges, was put to the Vote in the Common-Council, he can mean no other Struggle but this; if ſo, when he ſays, It was carried againſt the Court, he was out in his Arithmetick, *&c.*

P. 536. He opens the Scene of the great Conſpiracy, which broke out in the Year 1683. After ſo long an Experience of this Author, we ſhould not much wonder at any partial Account that he gives of this Matter, if he did not ſo far exceed himſelf, as to make one conclude, that he muſt be at this Time out of his Senſes, to own the Knowledge of ſo much, and the Belief of

ſo little. It is certain, that he never revis'd, or ſo much as read over what he had written, otherwiſe he could never have fall'n into ſuch groſs Abſurdities and Contradictions. Nothing can reconcile him to himſelf, after making ſuch wrong Inferences from his own Premiſſes, but that he firmly believ'd, let them do what they wou'd, that no Facts could be Treaſon againſt that Government. His Buſineſs is to throw Duſt in his Reader's Eyes, to confound and embarraſs him; one Moment he makes this Plot as viſible as the Dome of St. *Paul*'s, the next he ſinks it in Obſcurity, and makes the whole Story a Chimera and Forgery. But Truth is too bright and conſpicuous to be conceal'd. This Author argues like a Man, who ſhou'd infer, that there is no Sun at Noon Day, becauſe he cannot ſee when he looks him in the Face. The Hiſtory of this Conſpiracy written by Dr. *Sprat*, all founded on the moſt authentick Depoſitions, the Characters of the Witneſſes, who were not rak'd out of Jayls, but on the contrary were Men of ſome Subſtance, and what is more, great Credit with their own Party, at leaſt were above Want and the laſt Neceſſity; but above all, the Confeſſions of the dying Criminals have put the Truth of this Plot beyond Diſpute; but the Biſhop is ſo very inconſiſtent and unreaſonable, that after he has acknowledg'd himſelf enough to convince

vince the moſt incredulous, he arraigns the Juſtice of the Government in puniſhing the guilty, and would have his Reader believe, that it was accidental Diſcourſe in Converſation, without any form'd Deſign. Thro' ſeveral Pages he gives of this long Accounts. P. 536. *The Earl of* Shaftsbury *had been for making uſe of the Heat the City was in during the Conteſts about the* Sheriffs; *and thought they might have created a great Diſturbance, and made themſelves Maſters of the* Tower. But the Reader may judge of his Ingenuity by a Miſrepreſentation of the Circumſtances, when they met at Mr. *Shepards* in *Abchurch-Lane.* What he ſays, is directly contrary to the Evidence given at the Tryals. Colonel *Romſey* depos'd, "That in the End of *October*, or Beginning of *November* 1682, there met at "Mr. *Shepard*'s Houſe in *Abchurch-Lane*, "the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Gray*, "the Lord *Ruſſel*, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, "and *Robert Ferguſon.* That the Lord "*Shaftsbury* deſir'd him to go to them thither, to know what Reſolution was taken "about the Riſing at *Taunton*. That he "did go, and Mr. *Shepard* carried him up "where they were, and he deliver'd his "Meſſage. That the Anſwer was, *Mr.* "Trenchard *had failed them, and there "could no more be done in the Matter at "that Time;* that there was at the ſame

"time

" time a Diſcourſe by all the Company,
" about ſeeing what Poſture the Guards
" were in, that they might know how to
" ſurprize them; that ſome of them under-
" took to go and ſee. That Lord *Ruſſel*
" in particular did ſpeak about the Riſing,
" and gave his Conſent to it." To corro-
borate this Evidence, Mr. *Shepard*, who was an eminent Merchant, a Man of unblemiſh'd Probity, and of Reputation upon the *Exchange*, ſwore as follows. " That in *Octo-*
" *ber* laſt, *Ferguſton* requeſted of him in
" the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Name, the Con-
" veniency of his Houſe for the Meeting
" of ſome Perſons of Quality; and that the
" ſame Day in the Evening, the Duke of
" *Monmouth*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Ruſ-*
" *ſel*, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, and *Ferguſon*
" came; that they deſir'd to be private, and
" none of his Servants to come up. That
" their Diſcourſe was how to ſurprize the
" Guards; that the Duke of *Monmouth*,
" Lord *Gray*, and *Armſtrong* went one
" Night to view them; that the next
" time they came, *Armſtrong* ſaid, *That the*
" *Guards were remiſs, and the Thing was*
" *feaſible*; that they had two Meetings of
" this Kind at his Houſe; that in one of
" them ſomething was read in the Nature
" of a *Declaration* by *Ferguſon*, ſetting
" forth the Grievances of the Nation, in
" order to a Riſing; that he could not po-
" ſitively

" ſitively ſay that Lord *Ruſſel* was there " when it was read, but the ſaid Lord the " Priſoner was there, when they diſcours'd " of ſeizing the Guards." In the firſt Place I muſt deſire the Reader to obſerve, how exactly the Evidence of theſe two Witneſſes, *Romſey* and *Shepard* tallied in every Point, and then we will ſee the ingenuous and candid Account given by the Author in relation to this Matter.

P. 537. " The Duke of *Monmouth* gave " an Appointment to Lord *Shaftsbury*, or " ſome of his Friends, to meet him, and " ſome others, that he ſhould bring along " with him, at *Shepard*'s a *Wine-merchant*, " in whom they had an entire Confidence. " The Night before this Appointment, Lord " *Ruſſel* came to Town on account of his " Uncle's Illneſs. The Duke of *Monmouth* " went to him, and told him of the Ap- " pointment, and deſired that he wou'd go " thither with him: He conſented, the ra- " ther, becauſe he intended to taſte ſome of " that Merchant's Wines. At Night they " went with Lord *Gray* and Sir *Thomas* " *Armſtrong*, when they came, they found " none but *Romſey* and *Ferguſon*, two of " Lord *Shaftbury*'s Tools that he employ- " ed: Upon which they ſeeing no better " Company, reſolved immediately to go " back; but Lord *Ruſſel* called for a Taſte

" of

" of the Wines; and while they were bring-
" ing it him up, *Romſey* and *Armſtrong* fell
" into a Diſcourſe of ſurprizing the Guards.
" *Romſey* fancied it might eaſily have been
" done; *Armſtrong* who had commanded
" them, ſhewed him his Miſtakes. This
" was no Conſultation about what was to
" be done, but only what might have been
" done. Lord *Ruſſel* ſpoke nothing on the
" Subject, but as ſoon as he had taſted his
" Wines went away." Here the Reader may ſee how poſitively Dr. **Burnet** contradicts the Evidence that was given at the Tryal. He ſays that Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* differ'd in Opinion from Colonel *Romſey* about ſeizing the Guards, and thought it not practicable; Mr. *Shepard* on the other Hand ſwears, that he made a contrary Report, and declared the Thing to be feaſible, by reaſon of their Remiſneſs. He is as much in the wrong, when he ſays, that the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Ruſſel* found no Body there but *Romſey* and *Ferguſon*, upon which they were going away. Col. *Romſey* to the contrary ſays, that he came afterwards, and was carried up Stairs, and introduc'd into the Company. As this being of no great Conſequence, whether he came before or after makes it improbable, that the Witneſs ſhould falſify ſuch a Circumſtance, ſo it evinces, that Dr. **Burnet** could never ſpeak Truth. As Mr. *Shepard*

was

was a Man perfectly *Rectus in Curia*, of an unqueſtionable Character, and could have no Malice, or other Inducement to make him tell a Lye on this Occaſion, we ought in Reaſon and Juſtice to believe him; except it ſhould be objected, that his Knowledge of ſo black a Deſign and concealing it, ſhou'd diſparage his Credit, as a Witneſs; but this was moſt certainly the only Qualification to make him a good one: Without allowing this, it is impoſſible ever to have any human Evidence in a ſecret Conſpiracy. It is plain, the Author has miſrepreſented this Matter, and induſtriouſly conceal'd every Thing that could affect his Friends, and perſuade the World of their Guilt. If he had been ſincere (but that was none of his Buſineſs) and had acquainted his Reader with the Circumſtances that appear'd in the Tryal of my Lord *Ruſſel*, beſide the poſitive Evidence, he wou'd have given truer Impreſſions: If he had told, that the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Gray*, &c. Perſons of that elevated Rank and diſtinguiſh'd Quality, came in a *Hackney* Coach, without ſo much as a Footman to attend them, and afterwards deſir'd to be private, and that none of the Servants ſhould come into the Room, he could not have made his Reader believe that they only came to taſte Wines; beſides, the Time that they ſtaid there, being ſeveral Hours, was a little too long to have no other

Buſineſs.

Buſineſs. Theſe very two Circumſtances are as ſtrong Preſumptions, that they had a ſecret and dangerous Deſign, as if a thouſand Witneſſes had ſworn it. But I ſhall not diſpute whether what was charg'd on my Lord *Ruſſel*, amounted to more than Miſpriſſion, or no: I ſhall not juſtify any Hardſhips that noble Lord might ſuffer on that Account; but in contradiction to the Biſhop, who denies the Truth of this Plot, let my Lord *Ruſſel* be never ſo innocent, I muſt aver, that if a Perſon is preſent at a treaſonable Conſult, tho' he ſhould at the ſame time not only diſlike, but abhor any Scheme that ſhould be offer'd, his diſcent to what was propos'd, is as ſtrong an Evidence that ſuch a thing was propos'd, as his Approbation.

It wou'd be endleſs to follow him thro' all his Mazes in the Relation of this Conſpiracy. It wou'd ſwell this Book beyond the Deſign, to comment on every Abſurdity in this particular Story. Tho' he owns ſo many Facts, he would have you believe that nothing was meant after all; that is as much as to ſay, that when they ſent *Aaron Smith* into *Scotland*, they had no Deſign in ſending him, that when he went, he had no Deſign in going; that the *Scotch* Gentlemen, who came to *London* on this Invitation, had no Deſign in taking ſo long and chargeable a Journey;

Journey; and when he himſelf was afraid that his Friend Lord *Ruſſel* ſhould come to ſome Harm by keeping his Country-men Company; he believ'd that they had no Deſigns that cou'd endanger him; and when he owns that the Pretence of *Carolina* was thought a very good Blind, this Blind was to cover nothing at all. To convince the Reader that I have not wrong'd the Author, in charging him with owning ſeveral Facts, I muſt be oblig'd to make ſome ſhort Quotations. *P.* 541. *What paſt between the* Scots *and* Engliſh *Lords I know not, only that* Lord Argyle, *who was then in* Holland, *asked at firſt* 20000 l. *for buying a Stock of Arms and Ammunition, which he afterwards brought down to* 8000 l. *and a thouſand Horſe to be ſent down into* Scotland. In the ſame Page he ſays. *But the Thing had got ſome Vent, for my own Brother, a zealous* Presbyterian, *who was come from* Scotland, *it not being ſafe for him to live longer in that Kingdom, knowing that he had converſed with many that had been in the Rebellion, told me, there was certainly ſomewhat in Agitation among them, about which ſome of their Teachers had let out ſomewhat very freely to himſelf.* Again, *p.* 543. Walcot *an* Iriſh *Gentleman, that had been of* Cromwell's *Army, was now in* London, *and got into that Company; and he was made believe, that the Thing was ſo well laid, that many both in City and Country were engaged in it; he liked*

their

their Project of a Riſing, but declared he would not meddle with their Lopping. In the ſame Page, *At one Time Lord* Howard *was among them; and they talked over their Schemes of Lopping. One of them was to be executed in the* Playhouſe. *Lord* Howard *ſaid he liked that beſt, for then they would die in their Calling.* P. 545. *As for Arms,* Weſt *had bought ſome, as on a Commiſſion for a* Plantation. *And theſe were ſaid to be ſome of the Arms with which they were to be furniſhed, tho' when they were ſeen they ſeem'd very improper for ſuch a Service.* Theſe Arms were after their Seizure depoſited and ſhewn in the *Tower*; they conſiſted of Blunderbuſſes and Muſquetoons, which were the moſt proper to fire into a Coach; but we will excuſe the Doctor's Ignorance in an Art to which he was a Stranger, the Knowledge and Uſe of Arms, ſince we find him very often not ſo well inſtructed as he ought to have been, in his own Profeſſion. *P.* 549. *But he begun* (i. e. *Lord* Gray) *to think that he might be in Danger; he found* Romſey *was one Witneſs, and if another ſhou'd come in he was gone.* *P.* 557. Speaking of himſelf and *Tillotſon*, he ſays, *We thought the Party had gone too quick in their Conſultations, and too far; and that Reſiſtance in the Condition we were then in was not lawful.* After owning ſo many Circumſtances and Facts, the Author will find a very difficult

Task

Task to blind and deceive his Readers, ſo as to make them believe there was nothing at all in this Matter. The Inconſiſtencies and Contradictions into which he muſt of Neceſſity fall, are obvious; all which might have been prevented when he aſſerts any one Thing, if he had carefully examin'd what he had ſaid before: But perhaps he had contracted a Habit of ſo out-facing the World, that he would not correct his Errors, as if he was aſham'd of repenting even to himſelf: His Faults are ſeldom ſingle; when he has committed one, he hurries you on to another, that by a new Amuſement, you ſhould not have Time to reflect on the paſt; like a vicious Horſe, who, when he has made a Stumble, inſtead of going more carefully, conſcious of his Fault, runs away with his Rider.

In order to his Deſign of Diſcrediting the Plot, by invalidating the Force of the Evidence, he uſes not always the very beſt Arguments; his Objection againſt my Lord *Howard* in being a Beggar, will bear no great Weight. Men in ill Circumſtances are moſt likely to be deſperate, and engage in deſperate Deſigns. *Cataline* was undone in his domeſtick Affairs, before his Neceſſities, as well as Ambition puſh'd him to repair his broken Fortunes in the Ruin of his Country. When he ſays, that Lord was ſo

infamous, that his own Party were ſhy in truſting him, he ſeems to contradict himſelf, when in another Place he aſſerts, that Colonel *Algernoon Sidney*, had ſo great a Kindneſs for him, as to ſupport him with his Eſteem, Friendſhip, and Purſe, which ſo wiſe a Man would never have done, if this Nobleman had been of a Character ſo infamous, as not to be truſted. His Zeal to the Cauſe, and mortal Hatred to the King and kingly Government, muſt needs recommend him to Men poſſeſs'd with the ſame Averſions. There can lye no other Objections againſt my Lord *Howard*, who was qualified to be in their Councils in all reſpects; and if we conſider his Name and Family, was ſuperior in Quality, as well as in the Fineneſs of his Parts and Capacity.

P. 558. *He thought it neceſſary for him to leave a Paper behind him at his Death; and becauſe he had not been accuſtomed to draw ſuch Papers, he deſired me to give him a* Scheme *of the Heads fit to be ſpoken to, and of the Order in which they ſhould be laid: Which I did. And he was three Days employ'd, ſome Time in the Morning, to write out his* Speech. Afterwards, when he Dr. **Burnet**, was examin'd by the *King and Council*, and ask'd, *If he did not make my Lord* Ruſſel's *Speech?* He tells you himſelf his Anſwer. *I offer'd to take my Oath, that*

that the Speech was penn'd by himſelf, and not by me. After this no one will diſpute the Ingenuity of the candid Dr. **Burnet**. Whether, he who dictates, or he who only writes what is dictated, is reckon'd to be the Author, let all Men judge, who ever heard of the Word, *Equivocation?* If we had to do with another Man, who ſhould have told this Story of himſelf, we ſhould have made this Reflection, That he had ſacrificed the Reputation of his Sincerity, to be thought the Author of that ſophiſtical Paper, and that his Vanity had vanquiſh'd his Senſe of Shame; but as our good Biſhop was all his Life totally unſuſceptible of the laſt Paſſion, the firſt, in his Caſe, had nothing to combat.

After theſe Affairs at Home, he now carries us into *France*, where his Vanity appears in the moſt lively Colours. Here he gives the Characters of the *French* Court, and the great Men in that Country, moſt of which are wrong, but it is not worth while to diſprove him. *P.* 565. he ſays, *That the Duke of* Montauſier *was a Pattern of Virtue and Sincerity, if not too Cynical in it. He was ſo far from flattering the King, as all the reſt did moſt abjectly, that he could not hold from contradicting him, as often as there was Occaſion for it. And for that Reaſon chiefly the King made*

him the Dauphin's *Governour.* Here contrary to his Deſign or Inclinations, he ſets the King of *France* in a very advantageous Light, inconſiſtent with the Notion that he has given of him in other Places, where he makes him ſo fond of the Incenſe that was offer'd to him. A Prince who is above the Poyſon of Flattery, muſt not only have a Greatneſs of Soul, but the moſt conſummate Wiſdom. To eſteem a Man for a Sincerity often ſhewn at his own Expence, ſo as to entruſt him with the Care of his Son, is a Character inconſiſtent with that Tyrant, Monſter, and Enemy of Mankind, which our well-bred Author in a very few Pages will call him.

AFTERWARDS, *p. ibid. While I was at Court, which was four or five Days, one of the King's Coaches was ſent to wait on me, and the King ordered me to be well treated by all about him, which upon that, was done with a great Profuſion of extraordinary Reſpects.* But this was not all.— *That the King hearing I was a Writer of Hiſtory, had a Mind that I ſhould write on his Side. I was told a Penſion would be offer'd me, but I made no Step towards it.* The Compliment of the King's Coaches is never paid in ſo haughty a Court as that of *France,* but to foreign Princes, publick Miniſters, or to Perſons of a very elevated Rank

Rank and Quality. It has been known, that this Honour has been ſhewn to Generals of Orders, tho' but poor *Franciſcan Fryars*; but then always conducted by a *Maſter of the Ceremonies*, as being regarded under a publick Character; but never to private Men, eſpecially to a Perſon not ſo much as dignified at this Time in his own Church and Country, and whoſe beſt Pretention was the Honour of his *Engliſh* Caſſock, which by his ill Principles and Tricks he had ſo much diſgrac'd. It is pity Dr. **Burnet** had not thought fit in this Ramble to have made the Tour of *French Flanders*, that Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*'s Chaplain might have been ſaluted by the Cannon from the Ramparts in every Town that he paſs'd. This Compliment would certainly have been paid to a Perſon ſo diſtinguiſh'd in *France*, as to have had the Honour of the King's Coaches. But the moſt extravagant Sally of his Vanity, is the Story he tells us, that the King had a Mind to engage him to write on his Side. This *Rhodomontade* muſt give no ſmall Diverſion in *France*, where there are ſo many illuſtrious and abler Pens; beſides the Advantage of being Natives, Men in all reſpects ſo much better qualify'd for ſo great a Task, without the Abſurdity of employing a *Scotch Hugonot* to defend the Cauſe, and adorn the *Triumphs* of LOUIS LE GRAND, who now

at this Time was in the Meridian of his Greatneſs. But what makes all theſe *Gaſconades* the more ſuſpicious and improbable, is the Account which a little before he himſelf has given of the ſtrict and dangerous Alliance at this Juncture between *England* and *France*. This, if true, would make the Conduct of the *French* King, if he deſign'd to keep any Meaſures with his Brother and Allie, very unaccountable, thus to overwhelm with Favours and Marks of Reſpect a Man, who was at this Time in a Kind of Rebellion, in open Defiance, and flown in the Face of the King his Maſter.

P. Ibid. I ſaw the Prince of Conde *but once, tho' he intended to ſee me oftner. He had great Quickneſs of Apprehenſion, and was thought the beſt Judge in* France *of Wit and Learning. He had read my Hiſtory of the Reformation, that was then tranſlated into* French, *and ſeemed very well pleaſed with it. So were many of the great Lawyers; in particular* Harlay, *then Attorney-General, and now firſt Preſident of the Court of Parliament at* Paris. Here he flatters the Prince of *Conde*, and makes him the moſt capable Perſon to judge of Writing, with no other Deſign, but to compliment himſelf in that Prince's Approbation of his Hiſtory. Whoever had the Genius and fine Taſte to be pleas'd with that extraordinary Per-

Performance, muſt be the beſt Judge of Wit and Learning in all *France*. Tho' it is very well known, that the Prince of *Conde* was bred in a Camp from a very Boy; the Broils and civil Combuſtions in which he was engag'd ſo many Years, beſides the long Wars in which he commanded afterward, let his Genius and Natural Parts be never ſo great, could not have afforded him Leiſure to qualify himſelf to be the beſt Judge of Books and Literature in one of the moſt learned Countries in the World. But if the *French* were ſo weak, as to have any great Opinion of him, Monſieur *Thevenot* has diſabus'd his Country-men.

He now returns into *England*, where he renews his Prejudices, and after his uſual Rate pours out his ſcandalous Invectives againſt the Adminiſtration. *P.* 567. *All People were apprehenſive of black Deſigns, when they ſaw* Jefferies *made* Lord Chief Juſtice, *who was ſcandalouſly vicious, and was drunk every Day; beſides a Drunkeneſs of Fury in his Temper, that looked like Enthuſiaſm.* We will paſs the ill Manners and Brutality of this ſcandalous Character, and only remark, *that if Fury in Temper may be called Drunkenneſs*, the Author, tho' he was ſober and temperate as to Liquor, was in his Time the greateſt Sot in *Chriſtendom*. If my Lord *Jefferies* exceeded the

Bounds of Temperance now and then in an Evening, it does not follow that he was drunk on the *Bench* and in *Council*. The greateſt Men of Antiquity were not free from this Vice: The *Cato*'s themſelves, if we can believe *Tully* and *Horace*, not only indulg'd in their Genius, but warm'd their Virtue with Wine, and prolong'd their Cups till Morning. Yet theſe Men were the Patterns of thoſe great Virtues, which we at this Diſtance of Time ſo much admire; tho' they liv'd in a Southern Country, where this Vice has always given greater Scandal, than among the Northern Nations, where conſtant Habit and Cuſtom has almoſt made it no Crime. If a Man has Faults, he had better owe them to his Liquor than Nature; the firſt may be corrected by Reaſon and Experience, whereas the laſt is incurable.

P. 575. *Lord* Halifax *preſſed him* (Monmouth) *to write a Letter to the King, acknowledging that he had confeſs'd the Plot.* Plot *was a general Word, and might ſignify as much, or little as a Man pleaſed.* This is a fine Definition of a Plot, but if the Deſign is real and true, *A Plot is a Plot*, as much as a Man is a Man, or a Houſe a Houſe. It is certain that our reverend Author has all along follow'd this Notion in the Accounts that he has given of the ſeve-

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ral Plots, that is, has made them *ſignify as much, or as little as he pleas'd;* juſt as the Intereſt of his Party and his own Inclination directed.

But nothing can be more aſtoniſhing, than the Inferences that he draws from the *Confeſſions* of the dying Perſons. He has own'd before, that *Hone*, whom he calls *a poor ſimple Man, and who had ſome Heat, but ſcarce any Senſe in him, was drawn in by* Keeling *and* Lee. Afterwards he ſays, Hone *confeſſed his own Guilt, but ſaid, thoſe who witneſſed againſt him had engaged him in that Deſign, for which they now charged him; but he knew nothing of any other Perſons, beſides himſelf and the two Witneſſes.* That made the Plot never the leſs true, becauſe he knew no more of it; and the Simplicity of the Man, on which the Author ſeems to lay ſome Streſs, made him more likely to ſpeak Truth. *Walcot* and *Rouſe*, who dy'd at the ſame Time, acknowledg'd ſo much as confirm'd the Truth of the Plot, tho' they trifled in ſome Circumſtances relating to their own Share in the Deſign. From hence the acute Dr. **Burnet** infers: *Theſe Men dying as they did, was ſuch a Diſgrace to the Witneſſes, that the Court thought fit to make no further Uſe of them.* For a very good Reaſon; there were no more Tryals at that Time,

Time, in which they had Occaſion for the Evidence of *Weſt* and *Romſey*. Notwithſtanding all that *Walcot* own'd at his Death, and the Letter that he wrote to Sir *Leoline Jenkins, Secretary of State*, in which he acknowledged that the Plot was laid very wide, and offer'd to make great Diſcoveries on Condition of Mercy; the Author is not aſhamed to draw ſuch monſtrous Conſequences in favour of their Innocence, and to prejudice the Credit of the Witneſſes. We will ſuppoſe a Caſe that is parallel. A *robs* B *on* Hounſlow-Heath, B *ſwears againſt* A, *that he took from him five Pound thirteen Shillings; when* A *comes to dye, he owns the Fact as to Circumſtance of Time and Place, but ſays that* B *has wrong'd him in charging him with taking five Pound thirteen Shillings, whereas he took but five Pound twelve.* This, according to Dr. **Burnet**'s way of Reaſoning, ought to affect the Credit of *B* in the Teſtimony that he gave. But the Caſe is ſtill *à fortiori* on the other Side, for none of thoſe who ſuffered, charged the Witneſſes with any Injuſtice towards them.

But what is the moſt extravagant Thing of all, is the Uſe that the Biſhop makes of *Holloway*'s Confeſſion. When he ſays, *p.* 577. *The Credit of the* Rye-houſe Plot *received a very great Blow by his Confeſ-*

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ſion. The Reader muſt certainly deſire to know, what this Man ſaid on this Occaſion. *But he was prevail'd on by the Hopes of a Pardon, to ſubmit and confeſs all he knew. He ſaid he was drawn into ſome Meetings, in which they conſulted how to raiſe an Inſurrection, and that he and two more had undertaken to manage a Deſign for ſeizing on* Briſtol, *with the help of ſome that were to come to them from* Taunton. *But he added, that they had never made any Progreſs in it. He ſaid, at their Meetings in* London, Romſey *and* Weſt *were often talking of lopping the King and the Duke; but that he had never entered into any Diſcourſe with them upon that Subject. Theſe were* Weſt, Romſey, Rombold, *and his Brother; the fifth Perſon is not named in the printed Relation. Some ſaid it was* Ferguſon, *others* Goodenough. This is another Specimen of the Author's Reaſoning. *Holloway* own'd, that he was at ſome Meetings, in which they conſulted how to raiſe an Inſurrection, and afterwards ſays, that *Weſt* and *Romſey* were often talking of lopping the King and the Duke; but that he did not believe there were above five Perſons who approv'd it. For this Reaſon, the ſagacious Dr. **Burnet** infers, that this Confeſſion gave a very great Blow to the Credit of the *Rye-houſe Plot*; but ſince he makes an Objection to the Probability from the

the Paucity of the Number, we will tell him some more beſides the five mentioned. *Hone* abſolutely own'd, that he was to be one. *Walcot* muſt be another, becauſe when he offer'd to Sir *Leoline Jenkins* to make a Diſcovery, what he had to ſay muſt relate to the Tranſactions at *Weſt*'s Chambers, where the Affair of the Aſſaſſination was wholly manag'd; he could not know much of Conſequence in any other Branch of the Plot, not being admitted to the ſuperior Councils. *Goodenough* was another, and *Keeling* by his own Confeſſion, and the famous *Robert Ferguſon* is allow'd by all, to have been the common Agitator in every Part of both Conſpiracies. So here we have nine Perſons actually engag'd; this is a more proper Number in Regard to Secrecy, to form a Plot, than nine hundred; every one is ſuppos'd to engage others, who, as they were to be only the Executioners under the Direction of their Leaders, were not ſo fit to be truſted with the Councils and ſecret Springs of the Deſign.

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P. 597. When he gives an Account of Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*'s Behaviour at his Execution, he makes no Scruple to aſſert any Thing, tho' never ſo falſe, to put his Friends in a good Light, and to make thoſe of his Party always die like Saints. —— *Died in ſo good a Temper, and with ſo much Quiet*

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in his Mind, and so serene a Deportment, that we have scarce seen in our Times, a more eminent Instance of the Grace and Mercy of God. In this Account I can contradict him my self; I saw that unhappy Man go to die: As he pass'd along he threw about his Arms, as far as the Rope that ty'd him would permit, turn'd about his Head after an unusual Manner, drew and shrugg'd up his Shoulders, with such Convulsions and Distortions in his Countenance, such visible Marks of Passion, as shew'd so great a Disorder and Peturbation of Mind, as I never observ'd in any *English* Man in the same Circumstances. This in Dr. **Burnet**'s Language is, *Temper, Quiet of Mind, and serene Deportment.* It is no Matter for Truth, if what he says sounds but well, and supports the Credit of Party. By this, and the like Accounts on the same Occasion, which the Reader must needs have observ'd, it is evident, that the Author's chief Talent lyes in finely describing the Behaviour of Criminals, and in pathetick Narrations of their dying Speeches. It is Pity, that he had not been better acquainted with his Genius, he would have made an admirable Ordinary of *Newgate*, which was a Post much fitter for him, than that he possess'd in the Church; when we consider that the Fury of his Temper, his Thirst of Revenge, his absolute Want of Modesty, Humility, Charity,

Charity, and all the apoſtolical Qualities of a good Biſhop, render'd him as unfit for the paſtoral Charge, as his Carnality and Love of the World, would have unqualify'd him to have been a *Capuchin* Fryar. But it is a Weakneſs and Misfortune common to Mankind, always to aſpire to thoſe very Things for which they are the leaſt qualify'd, *Optat Ephippia Bos.* —— This was the Author's Caſe, tho' at the ſame Time it is not improbable, that his Avarice was the chiefeſt Spur to his Ambition, in begging a Biſhoprick with ſo good a Revenue; when we reflect that at bottom, he had no great Kindneſs for that Rag of the Whore, thoſe Popiſh Gugawes, the *Lawn* and the *Mitre*. The Doctor has a particular Kindneſs for this worthy Gentleman; not content to make him die well, he would have you believe that he liv'd as innocent; by endeavouring to exculpate him from having any Share in this Conſpiracy, when in the preceding Page he tells us, that, *The thing that* Romſey *had ſwore againſt him, ſeemed not very credible: For he ſwore, that at the firſt Meeting,* Armſtrong *undertook to go and view the Guards, in Order to the ſeizing them; and that upon a View, he ſaid at a ſecond Meeting, that the Thing was very feaſible. But* Armſtrong, *who had commanded the Guards ſo long, knew every Thing that related to them ſo well, that without*

without ſuch a tranſient View, he could on a ſudden have anſwered every Thing relating to them. Here is a great Miſtake in the Perſon of the Witneſs: It was not *Romſey* but *Shepard*, who ſwore againſt Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* by Name. *Romſey* in his Depoſition only ſays, that ſome of the Company undertook to go and view the Guards: This *Shepard* confirms, by his Teſtimony, and particularly names the Duke of *Monmouth*, Lord *Gray*, and Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* to have been the Perſons who undertook to do it, and that Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* was the Man who made the Report, that the Thing was feaſible by Reaſon of their Remiſneſs. The Author, conſcious of the undeniable Credit of *Shepard*, charges this Evidence on *Romſey*, whom he thought the more exceptionable Witneſs, and conſequently the leſs likely to be believed. As it is a little unnatural to miſtake *Romſey* for *Shepard*, we have the more Reaſon to believe that he did it on purpoſe; by which we may ſee his little Arts to cheat and impoſe on his unguarded Reader. The Objection that he makes to the Probability of this Matter, is weak and trifling; tho' he ſeems to lay very great Streſs on his Reaſoning, when he ſays, that Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, who had commanded the Guards, knew their Situation ſo well, as to have no Occaſion to view them. This will bear no great

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Weight, when we conſider, that the Guards were doubled, their Numbers encreas'd by additional Recruits; and their Poſts extended at this Time, upon the repeated Alarms given to the Court, by the frequent Seditions in the City: This muſt of Courſe, make them alert and more on their Guard, than in Times of profound Quiet, when Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* commanded them ſome Years before. Conſequently, there was an abſolute Neceſſity of more than what he calls a tranſient View; of a new and exact Obſervation of their Poſture and Diſcipline, before they could form any ſucceſsful Scheme of ſurprizing them. But if it were really unlikely what theſe Witneſſes gave in Evidence, it would be ridiculous on bare Improbability, to argue againſt Matter of Fact, for which we have all the Certitude of human Evidence. With all the Pains, that the Author has taken to decry the Truth of this Plot, the unprejudic'd Part of the World will never believe him in what has all the Proof, that morally Speaking, can be expected, unleſs it had taken Effect: In that Caſe, there would have been no great Occaſion for Dr. **Burnet**'s Hiſtory; Succeſs alone would much better have juſtify'd the Action, than the proſtitute Pen of ſo weak an Advocate.

P. 590. Stearn, *Archbiſhop of* York, *died in the eighty ſixth Year of his Age: He was alſo a ſour ill temper'd Man, and minded chiefly the enriching of his Family: He was ſuſpected of Popery, becauſe he was more than ordinarily compliant with the Court, and was very zealous for the Duke.* This is a falſe, unjuſt, and malicious Character of that worthy Prelate. As if a Man could not act upon a Principle, which his Religion had taught him, without being inclin'd to Popery. The *Turners*, the *Kens*, the *Sancrofts* were as zealous for the Duke, as this Biſhop; yet no Man will be ſo hardy, as to inſinuate their Inclination to that Religion, when by their Sufferings and Impriſonment, they gave ſuch convincing Proofs of their Firmneſs to their own. I heartily wiſh, that the Author had done as much Honour to his Character, as the worſt Man that he reviles in his Book, it would have been better for that Church, of which he was ſo unſound and heterogeneous a Member; it would have given a leſs handle to the Inſult of her Enemies, and have ſav'd us a great deal of Trouble to defend her.

See w^t the Remarker ſays of the Imprisonment of the Bishops in his Short View

P. ibid. Dolben *Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *ſucceeded him, a Man of more Spirit than Diſcretion, and an excellent Preacher, but of a free Converſation, which lay'd him*

open to much Cenſure in a vicious Court. One would have thought, that a free Converſation ſhould have lay'd a Man open to more Cenſure in a virtuous, than a vicious Court. As it is impoſſible, that the Author could have meant as he writes, we will not inſiſt on the genuine Meaning of his Words, but allow it to be an Error in the Expreſſion, rather than the Mind. I only remark the Miſtake, to ſhew the Negligence or Lazineſs of this Writer, who had ſo much Time to peruſe this Work; if he had taken the Pains to have read over this Paragraph, it is impoſſible, but he muſt have found this Inconſiſtency.

AMONG the wrong Characters of the other good Biſhops, who dy'd this Year, he ſays, *p. ibid. That* Gunning *was a dry Man, and much inclin'd to Superſtition.* That the Reader may be appris'd of what he means by the Word Superſtition, he muſt know, that in Dr. **Burnet**'s Language, it ſignifies a pious and dutiful Adherence to the Principles, Canons, Rubrick, and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, as eſtabliſh'd firſt by EDWARD VI. confirm'd by Q. ELIZABETH JAMES I. CHARLES II. and all the Acts of Uniformity ſince the Reformation; whoever would not ſurrender theſe, and ſacrifice the Church to the Caprices of her Schiſmaticks, were Friends to Popery. To confirm this,

this, he has a notable Paragraph in the very next Page: Speaking of Biſhop *Ken*, he ſays, *The King ſeem'd fond of him, and by him and* Turner, *the Papiſts hoped that great Progreſs might be made in gaining, or at leaſt deluding the Clergy. It was obſerv'd that all the Men in Favour among the Clergy were unmarried; from whom they hoped that they might probably promiſe themſelves a Diſpoſition, to come over to them.* As to one of theſe Perſons, there muſt be a very great Miſtake. Dr. *Turner* was a married Man; whether he might be a Widower at this Time, we cannot determine. We hope there is no need of defending theſe good Men from this vile and calumnious Inſinuation: Their Actions have ſufficiently convinc'd the World to the contrary: We ſaw the Time, when proſtrate Crouds implor'd their Bleſſing, and call'd them the Saviours of the Nation. No Wonder, their egregious Virtues ſhould ſhock a Man, who was their Antipodes in all that was good and worthy. The Sanctity of Manners, the Mortification, the Chaſtity in living unmarried, of that apoſtolical Man Dr. *Ken*, muſt neceſſarily reproach the Senſuality and Love of Women in Dr. **Burnet**, who exceeded by two, the Number allow'd by the Apoſtle. The ſame Thing may be lawful, and not be decent. But this Concupiſcence in our Author may comparatively be excus'd, when we conſider, that a very

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ry good Friend of his, a famous Ringleader and Preacher among the Rebels in *Scotland*, about forty five Years paſt, in Number of Wives exceeded our Doctor by ſix.

P. 600. *A Tryal in a Matter of Blood, came on after this. A Gentleman of a noble Family being at a publick Supper with much Company, ſome hot Words paſt between him and another Gentleman, which raiſed a ſudden Quarrel; none but three Perſons being engag'd in it. Swords were drawn, and one was kill'd outright: But it was not certain by whoſe Hand he was kill'd: So the other two were both indicted upon it; the Proof did not carry it beyond* Manſlaughter; *no Marks of precedent Malice appearing. Yet the young Gentleman was prevail'd on to confeſs the Indictment, and to let Sentence paſs on him for Murder, a Pardon being promiſed him if he ſhould do ſo; and he being threatned with the utmoſt Rigour of the Law, if he ſtood upon his Defence,* &c. For ſome Reaſons, I ſhall not diſprove the Particulars of this Account; but I think my ſelf oblig'd to let his Readers know, that the Author has abus'd them, by endeavouring to impoſe upon them in almoſt every Circumſtance, as he relates the Story: For their further Satisfaction, I refer them to the Records of the *Old-Baily* and the *Seſſions Paper* printed at this Time, a ſort of Narrative, which is not the moſt unfavourable

able to thoſe, who have Money enough to pay for inverting the initial Letters of their Name.

P. 604. *There was at this Time a new Scheme form'd, that very probably would have for ever broken the King and the Duke: But how it was laid was ſo great a Secret, that I could never penetrate into it. It was laid at Lady* Portſmouth's, Barillon *and Lord* Sunderland *were the chief Managers of it*; *Lord* Godolphin *was alſo in it*; *the Duke of* Monmouth *came over ſecretly*; *and tho' he did not ſee the King, yet he went back very well pleas'd with his Journey*; *but he never told his Reaſon to any that I know of.* Nor any Body elſe. He knew nothing of the Matter; and conſequently could not tell it. This chimerical Story has been induſtriouſly affirm'd by others, who, perhaps believ'd it no more than the Author. It was firſt invented to facilitate the Belief of the King's being poiſoned. If we may argue from Reaſon, and Experience of human Nature, nothing can be more incredible than this pretened Scheme, which, if true, muſt make this Prince the weakeſt of human Race. He was now in Circumſtances of Eaſe, Power, and Greatneſs, to which few of his moſt fortunate Predeceſſors ever arriv'd; after ſo long a Struggle, he had vanquiſh'd a ſtubborn and potent Faction; had the Necks of his Ene-

mies under his Feet, and was now treated by his Subjects with a Reverence mixt with Fear, and a Love that reſulted from Eſteem. In ſuch a Situation, it is unconceivable, that a Man in his Senſes ſhould ſurfeit of Happineſs, long to return to his Bondage, and with his own Hands put on his Chains again; ſhould now in perfect Eaſe and Safety ſacrifice a Brother whom he tenderly lov'd, after having waded thro' ſo many Dangers to defend his Right of Succeſſion, with the imminent Hazard of his own Poſſeſſion; ſhould abandon his Friends, who, with ſo great Fidelity had help'd to extricate him out of his Troubles, to the Revenge of Men, who would ſoon have involv'd both him and them in the ſame again, and on whom he had try'd ſo many Experiments of Bounty, Grace, and Mercy, to which he never found any Returns of Love, Duty, or Gratitude; as if Nature had induced one ſort of Men with no other Paſſion, but that of Reſentment. The Perſons pretended to be the Managers of this Scheme, add to the Improbability, nothing being more ſtrange, than that Monſieur *Barillon* the *French* Ambaſſador, ſhould be in a Deſign to ruin the Duke of *York*, the immediate *Roman Catholick* Heir to the Crown. This knocks all on the Head that the Biſhop has told us before, and entirely deſtroys all Notion of the Friendſhip and ſecret Alliance between

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French and *Engliſh* Popery. Nor is it leſs ſurprizing, when the Deſign was diſappointed by the ſudden Death of the King, that not one Perſon in the Plot ſhould make his Court to the Succeſſor, by telling ſo important a Secret, which muſt have prevented his taking into his Boſom immediately the very Men, who would have cut his Throat the Week before. Whoever can reconcile ſuch a Deſign in King CHARLES to common Senſe, may if he pleaſes believe Dr. **Burnet.**

WE are come at laſt to the End of King CHARLES's Reign, whoſe Death happen'd at this Time, of which the Author's Accounts, in regard to the Circumſtances of his firſt being attack'd, and Sickneſs, are a little wide of Truth; but as his Miſtakes are of no great Conſequence, it is not worth while to diſprove him; but the Story of the Prieſt who was frighted out of his Wits, ſo as to run againſt a Poſt, is a little remarkable. P. 607. *And when he* (Huddleſton) *was told what was to be done, he was in great Confuſion, for he had no* Hoſtie *about him. But he went to another Prieſt that liv'd in the Court, who gave him the* Pix *with an* Hoſtie *in it. But that poor Prieſt was ſo frighted, that he ran out of* Whitehall *in ſuch Haſte, that he ſtruck againſt a Poſt, and ſeem'd to be in a Fit of Madneſs with Fear.* It is worth the Enquiry of ſome great Philoſopher to find a

Reaſon for this prodigious Effect; that a Man ſhould run out of his Wits, becauſe a great King was going to do him the Honour to die in his Religion. It is highly probable that the Author miſtook the Paſſion, and when he ſaid Fear, meant Joy, which was much more natural to a *Romiſh* Prieſt on this Occaſion, not only on the Account of ſo illuſtrious a Convert, but the Hopes of a *Popiſh* Succeſſor. After all, it is Pity to ſpoil this pretty Romance by telling the Truth: The *Hoſtie* which was given to the King at this Time, was fetch'd from the Chappel at *Somerſet-houſe*, and conſequently could not be obtain'd from a Prieſt, who liv'd in *Whitehall*, as he relates the Story. This entirely deſtroys the Tale of the Prieſt and the Poſt, written by the Author of the delightful Hiſtory of the *Queen* and the *Cart*.

P. 610. *To this I ſhall add a very ſurprizing Story, that I had in* November, 1709. *from* Mr. Henly *of* Hampſhire. *He told me that when the Dutcheſs of* Portſmouth *came over to* England *in the Year* 1689, *he heard that ſhe had talk'd as if King* CHARLES *had been poiſoned, which he deſiring to have from her own Mouth, ſhe gave him this Account of it: She was always preſſing the King to make both himſelf and his People eaſy, and to come to a full Agreement with his Parliament, and he was*

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come to a final Resolution of sending away his Brother, and of calling a Parliament, which was to be executed the next Day after he fell into that Fit of which he died. She was put upon the Secret, and spoke of it to no Person alive, but to her Confessor: But her Confessor, she believ'd, told it to some, who seeing what was to follow, took that wicked Course to prevent it. This Story is told with more Circumstances and Solemnity than any of his other Hear-says, but it may be never the truer for that: Here we must depend upon the Veracity of two Persons, Dr. **Burnet** and Mr. *Henly*; so that we have a double Chance against the Truth of this Story: We observ'd before, that the Tale of the design'd Alterations was invented to support the Belief of the Poison, and now the Poison is introduc'd to support the Belief of the Alterations. When Things are dubious, we can only argue from Probability. The Death of King CHARLES was the greatest Blow to the Fortunes of the Dutchess of *Portsmouth*, who had the most Interest in his Life of any one Person in the World; and the greatest Reason to detrude any Suspicion of his being poison'd. If that were true, all the World agrees with the Author, that the Fact was committed at her Lodgings; in which Case, let her be never so innocent, she must, of Course, be involv'd in some Share of the Suspicion. The King

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was under her Roof, and conſequenly under her Protection; ſhe was in ſome Meaſure reſponſible for his Safety. Such a Secret muſt paſs thro' very few Hands; and conſequently make it more eaſy to gueſs at the Guilty, whom ſhe would moſt certainly have delated, and endeavour'd to have brought to Juſtice; the leaſt Sacrifice ſhe could make to the Manes of her Royal Lover. As it is impoſſible that ſhe herſelf ſhould be guilty, and equally as difficult to conceive the Thing feaſible to be done in her Houſe, without her Diſcovery of the Authors, whom ſhe would moſt certainly have expos'd to the Reſentment of the Nation, we may juſtly conclude, that it was not done at all. The different Accounts of the Fact, add to the Improbability of it; ſome have reported that the Poiſon was given in Eggs dreſt with Ambergreaſe, a Diſh peculiar to this Prince; others in Chocolate; and the Author, in Snuff, or Broth. This Variety in the Manner of the Performance, makes it all look like Invention, and the Story ſpurious, by having ſo many different Fathers. This Matter has been exhauſted already by learned Men: Dr. *Welwood* has left it doubtful at laſt, tho' qualify'd by his Profeſſion to be the beſt Judge. As the greateſt Part of Mankind make their Paſſions and Prejudices, without conſulting Reaſon, the Standards of their Belief; it will remain a moot

Point

Point to the Day of Judgment. If King CHARLES was not poiſoned, as we have Reaſon to believe, it is incredible that the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* ſhould have told this Story to Mr. *Henly*; if ſo, it is unlikely Mr. *Henly* ſhould tell it to the Biſhop of *Salisbury*. I can carry my Improbability no farther. 'Till that great Lady thinks fit to own that ſhe told this Story to Mr. *Henly*, we are not obliged to believe it from the laſt Hands: As what the Author ſays, is no Article of Faith, 'till better Proof, we muſt leave this Piece of ſecret Hiſtory among the Apocryphal Writings of the great **Burnet**.

GREATER Difficulties in the Belief of this Matter are to be encountered in Regard to the Conſequences that, humanly ſpeaking, muſt have followed the Diſappointment of the pretended Scheme. If the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, the Lords *Sunderland* and *Godolphin*, *Barillon*, and the King, had really formed a Deſign to lay aſide his Brother, in Favour of his natural Son, and that to prevent this, the King was poiſoned, it follows, that the Party intereſted enough to commit ſo wicked an Action, muſt have diſcovered who were the Perſons concerned in this Scheme, as well as the Scheme it ſelf: I muſt then ask my Reader, what would be the natural Conſequences on King JAMES's

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Acceſſion to the Throne; in the firſt Place, Monſieur *Barillon* at leaſt would have been forbidden the Court, 'till his Maſter had juſtifyed his Conduct; the new King would have found himſelf under no Obligation from any Regard to his Brother, to have treated the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* with ſuch diſtinguiſhing Marks of Reſpect: In ſhort, he muſt have been more than poſſeſt to put one of thoſe two Lords engaged in that Deſign, at the Head of his Councils and Adminiſtration; and the other ſo near the Perſon of his Queen.

AFTER having brought CHARLES II. to the Grave, he purſues him further, and continues his Malice in a falſe and defamatory Character, in which, like a Judge at a Tryal, he ſums up the whole Evidence againſt him. Tho' it is juſt to defend the Injured, this Character is too long to be tranſcribed, and will too much tire the Reader: I ſhall therefore only make Remarks on ſome of the moſt obvious and flagrant Scandals. In this Deſcription he is ſo very unjuſt to the good Qualities of this Prince, as to give them the Name of the neighbouring Vices: At this Rate no Pitch of Virtue can ever be guarded from Malice; Generoſity is Extravagance, and Frugality Avarice. He ſays, *He loſt the Battle of* Worceſter *with too much Indifference*, and then *he ſhewed*

ſhewed more Care of his Perſon, than became one who had ſo much at Stake. Here that heroick Virtue, which Philoſophy calls Fortitude, is termed by the Doctor Indifference: Not daring to arraign his perſonal Courage in the Field of Battle, he charges him with taking too much Care of his Perſon afterwards; this is the moſt natural Senſe of the Words, but our Author is often equivocal. If he means too much Care of his Perſon in the Action, the Reflection is falſe, and if in the Flight, is ſtupid. The Behaviour of the young King on this Occaſion, was ſo diſtinguiſhed, as to extort the Praiſe of an Enemy, not over generous: He led on his Foot in Perſon, and made no ſmall Impreſſion on *Cromwell*'s firmeſt Batallions. On this Occaſion he had no leſs than two, if not three Horſes killed under him; the Pikes and Bullets that reached the Horſes were not far from the Rider. This is enough for his Courage in the Action. If the Author means too much Care of his Perſon afterwards, it is a very extravagant Cenſure; he would have had him ſtood ſtill after a Rout, to be taken, and fall into the Hands of the Men who chopped off the Head of his Father: But the Reaſon he gives for ſuch Deſpair is admirable, becauſe he had ſo much at Stake, as if his Life was of leſs conſequence on that Account, and not to be managed with common Diſcretion. His Addreſs in con-

concealing his Perſon by diſſembling his Pain of Mind, and putting on an Air of Eaſineſs, the ſagacious Biſhop calls Careleſſneſs, and not acting the King in the Habit of a Peaſant, Levity. Our wiſer Author in that Condition, would have had him have kicked the Wench who gave him a Box in the Ear, for daring to ſtrike a Monarch. *While he was abroad at* Paris, Colen, *or* Bruſſels, *he never ſeemed to lay any Thing to Heart. He purſued all his Diverſions, and irregular Pleaſures in a free Career; and ſeemed to be as ſerene under the Loſs of a Crown, as the greateſt Philoſopher could have been.* So much the greater Hero, or better Chriſtian. This depends on the Man, and not on the Conduct; what is Stupidity in a Fool, is Greatneſs of Mind in a wiſer Man. When he talks of his irregular Pleaſures, he muſt mean his Purſuit of Women. For Drinking was never his Vice, and for Gaming, he neither had Money, nor Inclination.

We muſt here diſtinguiſh the Scenes of his Life, and not impute to his Youth the Faults of his riper Years. His Love of Women was after his Return, and not in his Exile before; except that one Inſtance of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Mother, there happened nothing abroad notorious enough to give publick Scandal, if we may believe Dr. *Charl-*

Charlton and others, who knew him in his Youth much better than the Author; who are juſt to his Virtues, as well as ſevere to his Vices, and diſtinguiſh the Days of Guilt from thoſe of Innocence; whereas the charitable Dr. **Burnet** makes the whole Tenour of his Life one and the ſame Debauch. If we may give Credit to the forecited Authorities, as we find them collected by Mr. *Echard*, we have a better and truer Account of his Youth. *Echard p.* 770. *And it is obſerved from a good Hand, that for many Years before his Return, he had been ſo chaſte, or ſo cautious, that thoſe about him could hear no Whiſper of an indecent Gallantry.* This acquits him from thoſe Vices aſcribed by the Author to his younger Days; tho' the Weakneſs of his riper Years cannot be excuſed either in Morality or Religion. However, except the ill Conſequences of a bad Example, theſe Crimes could not ſo much tarniſh his Character in his publick Capacity. One of our greateſt and moſt fortunate Monarchs, EDWARD IV. indulg'd this Vice of Women as much or more than CHARLES II. yet he has not been handed down to Poſterity meerly on this Account as a very ill Man in the Colours of Dr. **Burnet**, who adds another Injuſtice to the Character of this Prince, when he tells us, that, *during his Exile, he delivered himſelf up ſo entirely to his Pleaſures, that he became*

came uncapable of Application; he ſpent little of his Time in Reading or Study, and yet leſs in Thinking. The forementioned Author gives us a very different Account. *P. lib. Theſe natural Endowments were highly improved, not only by his uncommon Induſtry, but by an unuſual Train of Accidents unknown to other Princes. So that beſides his great Skill in modern Languages, Hiſtory, Mathematicks, and Navigation,* &c. If this is true, all that the Author has aſſerted on this Head is manifeſtly falſe; theſe difficult Sciences could not be attained without great Pains, and Application of the Mind, as well as Capacity; except, like another *Solomon,* this Prince owed his Knowledge to the Gift of Inſpiration: After taxing him with Cruelty, when forced to allow that he ſometimes forgave; he imputes this Goodneſs to Maxims of State, and not to his Nature: At this Rate the Virtues of all Mankind are precarious, and may be aſcribed to vicious Cauſes.

P. 612. *He delivered himſelf up to a moſt enormous Courſe of Vice, without any Sort of Reſtraint, even from the Conſideration of the neareſt Relations.* We all know what he means: As he barbarouſly gave to a certain Princeſs before a great Number of Lovers, it is but adding this one Perjury

more

more to his ſolemn Appeal in his Preface, to make her and her Brother inceſtuous.

P. 18. *He went over theſe in a very graceful Manner, but ſo often and ſo very copiouſly, that all thoſe who had been accuſtomed to them, grew weary of them; and when he entered on thoſe Stories they uſually withdrew.* My Lord *Mulgrave* was of another Mind. This Nobleman was educated in the Court of this Prince, was admitted into his Pleaſures, and had the Honour to enjoy ſo agreeable a Converſation many Years. Beſides theſe Advantages, the Greatneſs of his Parts, the Delicacy of his Taſte, his perfect Knowledge of the greater World, and a ſuperior Genius made him a better Judge, and much more capable of giving us true Ideas of this great King, than ſo unqualified a Man as the Author, whom an inveterate Prejudice had ſo blinded, as never to let him ſee any Virtue in an Enemy: Beſides a conſtant Habit of Romancing, was become ſo natural by long Practice from his very Childhood, as to make him a little uneaſy, whenever obliged to ſpeak Truth. Nor was this all, his Blood was ſo ſoured by a narrow and vile Education among thoſe Fanatick Covenanters in *Scotland*, as muſt of Courſe contract the Mind, gave a Meanneſs of Soul, and make him an Enemy to all that was Great and Noble.

I have drawn theſe two Writers of the ſame Character in their proper Colours, that when they claſh and contradict one another, the Reader may know whom to believe the ſooneſt. In Oppoſition to what he juſt now told us, how King CHARLES tired his Company by the frequent Repetition of his Stories, the nobler Writer gives us a contrary Account in theſe Words. *He was witty in all Sorts of Converſation, and telling a Story ſo well, that not out of Flattery, but the Pleaſure of hearing it, we ſeemed ignorant of what he had repeated to us ten Times before, as a good Comedy will bear the being often ſeen.* This is very unlike to what the Author calls running away from his Stories.

THE Peer and the Prelate are ſo widely different in their Accounts of this Prince, that one or the other muſt be very much miſtaken. Dr. **Burnet** ſays, *p. ibid. That he had great Vices but ſcarce any Virtues to correct them.* My Lord *Mulgrave* on the contrary tells us, *That his Temper both of Body and Mind, was admirable; which made him an eaſy and generous Lover, a civil and obliging Husband, a friendly Brother, an indulgent Father, and a good natured Maſter.* This ſhort Character comprehends all the civil Offices of Life, and illuſtrates this Prince in every Capacity. If

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all these good Qualities contain any Virtues, the Author very much abuses his Reader, when he paints a King adorned with so many Excellencies, in the hideous Colours of a Tyrant and Monster in Vice.

Dr. **Burnet** says he was cruel, my Lord *Mulgrave*, of a merciful Disposition. The Reader may easily determine which to believe, when this unjust Man is so unluckily absurd, as to tax a Prince with the want of Bowels, who was remarkable for the contrary Quality; whose Mercy, in Regard to himself and Friends, was his greatest Fault; who suffered in his Reputation both at home and abroad by a too general and hasty Indulgence to his Enemies, in screening them from the Justice of his Parliaments, in lessening the Number designed to be excepted, and precipitating an Act of Indemnity before they deserved that Goodness.

Not content to give him all the ill Qualities that he could imagine in human Nature, he thinks fit to compare him with one of the most flagitious of the *Roman* Emperors; and to support his Parallel, he tells you they were like in Countenance, and that he saw a Statue of *Tiberius* at *Rome*, which so resembled King Charles, as if it had been made for him. There is a great deal of Room left to Imagination and Fancy, in comparing the Likeness of Pictures; be-

ſides there is no indiſputable Certitude in ſo remote Antiquity, whether this Statue was genuine or no: Statues are not ſo undeniably ſure as Medals, which have Letters and Names inſcribed upon them. But ſuppoſing it made for *Tiberius*, it is poſſible, it might not be like him; we ſee at this Day in catching the Likeneſs, both Painters and Statuaries, tho' very great Artiſts, ſometimes fail. But we will for once allow that King CHARLES reſembled *Tiberius* in Viſage, it will not follow that he muſt be like him in Manners. My Lord *Mulgrave* has deſtroyed this Conſequence, when he tells us, *That he was an illuſtrious Exception to all the common Rules of Phyſiognomy; for with a moſt Saturnine harſh Sort of Countenance, he was both of a merry and merciful Diſpoſition.*

WE will now examine his Parallel between King CHARLES and *Tiberius*. P. 613. Tiberius's *Baniſhment, and his coming afterwards to reign, makes the Compariſon in that Reſpect come pretty near; his hating of Buſineſs, and Love of Pleaſures; his raiſing of Favourites, and truſting them entirely, and his pulling them down, and hating them exceſſively; his Art of covering deep Deſigns, particularly of Revenge, with an Appearance of Softneſs brings them ſo near a Likeneſs, that I did not wonder much*

much to obſerve the Reſemblance of their Face and Perſon. Without the ſame Motives and Reaſons, both for their Baniſhment and Succeſſion, thoſe two Events under different Circumſtances will not make the Caſes parallel.

But *Tiberius* was not baniſhed at all: This unlucky Man miſtakes in the Hiſtory of other Countries, as much as in his own; he made a voluntary Retreat to the Iſle of *Rhodes*, went and came back with the Leave of the Prince to whom he was a Subject; Charles was expelled by the Rebellion of his own, *Tiberius* mounted the Throne, not without Suſpicion of having unfairly removed his Predeceſſor, to whoſe Adoption he own'd all his Pretentions to Empire; Charles was called home to his undoubted Right by the unanimous Voice of his longing People. *Tiberius* put his Favourites to Death by an arbitrary and abſolute Power, only to get their Riches; Charles never diſcarded his, till they had firſt betrayed him, and then reſumed not the Grants and Bounties that he had given. With his own good Will, he puniſhed none with Death, but pardoned Rebels, and them by the Laws of his Country, after they had tired his Patience by repeated Provocations, and made his Juſtice not more neceſſary to his own, than the Safety of his People.

Tiberius diſſembled to over-reach and circumvent the Innocent; CHARLES thro' abſolute Neceſſity to defend himſelf againſt the Deſigns of the Guilty. Nor was their Conduct and Habit of Life leſs different than their Manners; the one ſhut himſelf up in a little * Rock, with his Pantomimes, Catamites, Eunuchs, and other inſtruments of his unnatural Luſts; the other in all his Diſorders kept himſelf within the Bounds of Nature, and was ſo far from abſconding, or concealing his Perſon, that no King of *England* ever expoſed himſelf ſo much to the View of his Subjects; not only twice or thrice yearly on his Throne in the great Aſſembly of his People, but ſhewed himſelf daily in his Parks, Gardens, or Tennis-Courts, where by his Activity and Vigour, he gave his good Subjects Hopes of enjoying him long, by adding Health to that Life, in which they had ſo great an Intereſt. At laſt the Cataſtrophes of theſe two Princes were as different as their Lives. *Tiberius* dyed abhorred and deteſted, loaded with the Execrations of the *Roman* World, as a Monſter of Mankind, and an Excreſcence of Nature. CHARLES grew more aimable, rever'd and almoſt adored, the nearer he approached his End; and when Death came,

* Iſland of *Capreæ*.

expired

expired amidſt the Sighs, Tears, and Groans of a diſtracted People, who ſacrificed to his Memory, by the moſt ſincere and univerſal Mourning, that ever was known in *England* on the like Occaſion.

THE Author would have been more lucky in his Choice, and have drawn a juſter Parallel, if he had compared this Prince with the fortunate Predeceſſour of this infamous Tyrant. Such a Compariſon would have given a better Opinion of his Judgment, as well as his Juſtice, and have made him concur with the greater Part of the World, who have always allowed and called the Times of King CHARLES II. the *Auguſtan* Age of *England*, ſo great was the Reſemblance of Genius and Manners. Both theſe great Princes were invited to Empire after long and bloody civil Wars, whoſe Wounds they equally healed with the ſame pacifick Hands; they both alike pardoned their greateſt Enemies, and both met with the ſame Returns; *England* had her *Cinnas* as well as *Rome*. The great Events of their Reigns were equally auſpicious. They both ſaw their Capital Cities rebuilt with greater Magnificence; they both reformed the Rudeneſs in the Manners of the Age, and introduced a Politeneſs and Elegance unknown before, not more by their Encouragement, than Example. The Purity of the *Latin* and *Engliſh* Tongues are owing to the Care and Im-

provement of thoſe two Monarchs. The nobleſt Wits and diviner Poets flouriſhed in their Times; Arts and Sciences ſprung and bloomed in the Sun-ſhine of their warm Influence; the Muſes and Graces attended them to the Throne, and vaniſhed when they departed; as whatever was Noble and Great at *Rome*, was owing to *Auguſtus Cæſar*, ſo all that are illuſtrious at this Day among us in the nobler Sciences, had their Birth or Education under the auſpicious Star of CHARLES II. In ſhort, they both vanquiſhed all Difficulties with the ſame Felicity, and after long, peaceful, and proſperous Reigns, dyed equally lamented by their Subjects. The only Difference between them was in Extent of Command, in the Greatneſs of Empire, and not of the Men.

BY what has been ſaid, the Reader may ſee the wrong and unjuſt Character the unworthy Author has given of this great Prince, and that no Virtue or Merit is out of the Reach of Malice. On this Occaſion to confirm in his Reader the Belief of what he has aſſerted, he concludes with renewing his Impiety, appealing once more to the God of Truth, and uſing his Name to defend the blackeſt and moſt egregious Falſhoods.

REMARKS



REMARKS

Hiſtorical and *Critical* :

BOOK IV.

WE are now come to a Reign, in which, for ſome Reaſons, I ſhall be very reſerved and laconick. The Author here is ſafe in his Trenches, and cannot be attacked without manifeſt Danger. To battle him now is a kind of Tryal ordeal; we muſt ſhut our Eyes, and to come at him paſs over burning Plow-ſhears. However, in Matter of Fact, if he pleaſes to call it Noon, when the Sun is below the Horizon, tho' it may be

be too bold in plain Terms to ſay it is Night, we may venture to bring an Equation Table, and not be of both his Opinions, when he contradicts himſelf. He begins his Attack on this unfortunate Reign with a counterfeit Tenderneſs, which bodes no good to the unhappy Object of his Malice. The Writers of natural Hiſtory aſſure us, that there are certain terrible Animals, who always weep over the Prey they are going to devour. If it is ominous, as the Ancients believe, to ſtumble at the Threſhold, we have no good Preſage of what is to come, and if he proceeds as he begins in this Reign, the Reader may expect a noble Hiſtory; for he opens the firſt Scene with a moſt notorious, and one of the leaſt ſupportable Falſhoods in all his Book.

P. 620. *It was a heavy Solemnity. Few Tears were ſhed for the former, nor were there any Shouts of Joy for the preſent King.* We will join Iſſue with the Author, and let all the Diſpute between us be decided by the Verity or Falſhood of this one Aſſertion. Tho' he is equally wrong in both, as to Fact; we ſhall not inſiſt on the Joy, which was as great as common Decency, after ſuch a Loſs, would permit; but as for the Grief, there never was ſuch a Scene of Woe in *England*: The Sorrow was ſo epidemical as not to diſtinguiſh Party: The

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Senſe of the Loſs ſo general, that the meaner Sort of the People, as well as the richer, paid their Tribute to his Memory; there was ſcarce a Servant Maid betwixt *White-Chappel* and *Weſtminſter-Abby* who was not in black Crape, the Womens Mourning at this Time, upon this Occaſion. For the Truth of this, we appeal to every Man or Woman now alive, who is old enough to remember ſo remarkable an Event.

By this it is plain, that Dr. **Burnet**, deſigned to juſtify the Character that he has given of King Charles, by making Poſterity believe, that he was as little beloved by the Age in which he lived, as he would have him be eſteemed by the Future. This muſt be his only View in denying a Scene of Grief ſo viſible, notorious, and univerſal, as to leave no Poſſibility of eſcaping Obſervation; unleſs, by ſome peculiar Organization the Senſes of this good Biſhop ſo depended on one another, as to make him unable to ſee that Grief, which he could not feel.

P. 621. *The Marqueſs of* Halifax *had Reaſon to look on himſelf, as in ill Terms with the King: So in a private Audience, he made the beſt Excuſes he could for his Conduct of late. The King diverted the Diſ-*

Diſcourſe, and ſaid, that he would forget every Thing that was paſt, except his Behaviour in the Buſineſs of the Excluſion. My Lord *Halifax* had particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſupporting the Intereſt of the Duke in the Affair of the Excluſion, the Acknowledgment of which Service, by ſo fine a Turn, ought to be recorded among the Apophthegms of *Plutarch* and the Ancients. The Author certainly was not himſelf, when he had the good Nature to communicate to us, an Anſwer ſo genteel, ſo gracious, and at the ſame Time ſo grateful, as muſt ſet this Prince in ſo beautiful a Light, as we have no Reaſon to ſuppoſe that he cordially deſigned to place a Man, whom in all other Reſpects he has treated with the laſt Injuſtice.

p. 639. *P.* 623. *Complaints came up from all the Parts of* England *of the Injuſtice and Violence uſed in Elections, beyond whatever had been practiſed in former Times.* —— *They were neither Men of Parts or Eſtates; ſo that there was no Hope left of working on their Underſtandings, or making them ſee their Intereſt in not giving the King all at once; moſt of them were furious and violent, and ſeemed to recommend themſelves to the King, by putting every Thing in his Power,* &c. This is ſo far from Truth, that never were fewer Intrigues, leſs Management,

ment, or Competition in any Election of Members. The Party disaffected at this Time were too weak to struggle with the Torrent; besides, they were so thunder-struck, and under such a Consternation in this Juncture, as to be glad to sit still, and compound to be quiet; they were justly afraid to revive the Memory, and by new Opposition awaken the old Resentment of their past Behaviour. In Regard to their Estates and Circumstances, I must refer the Reader to the printed List of that Parliament, by which, if he knows the Gentlemen of Fortune and Quality in the respective Counties in *England*, he will be able to judge of this Author's Integrity. This Parliament were good Subjects, when they had no Reason to be dissatisfyed; and afterwards, as good Patriots, when they thought the Laws and Religion in Danger: The noble Stand that they then made, contradicts his Account of their Fury and Devotion to the Court; their being laid aside, and afterwards dissolved in Anger; absolutely confute this Calumny. When the Actions of Men speak so loudly, there is no Need of Words to defend them.

P. 637. *For as the secular Court could not order his Ecclesiastical Habit to be taken from him.* It is remarkable, that the first Time he shews any Concern for the Privilege

lege and Intereſt of the Clergy, is in behalf of Dr. *Oates*; tho' it is a moot Point to this Day, whether he was ever canonically ordained or no; of which we believe there are no very authentick Teſtimonials.

P. ibid. Speaking of *Dangerfield*'s being whipped, he ſays, *But it had a more terrible Concluſion. For a brutal Student of the Law, who had no private Quarrel with him, but was only tranſported by the Heat of the Time, ſtruck him over the Head with his Cane, as he got the laſt Laſh. This hit him ſo fatally that he dyed of it immediately.* The Truth of this Story is ſo perverted in every Circumſtance, as will convince the Reader of the Author's Talent in aggravating the Faults of the unfortunate, when not of his Party; as alſo how little we can depend on the narrative Part of this Hiſtory. He ſays that the Man, whoſe Name was *Francis*, ſtruck him as he got the laſt Laſh, and that he dyed immediately. In contradiction to this, the Reader muſt know, that the Execution of the Sentence was over, and *Dangerfield* brought back from *Tyburn* in a Coach, which, by ſome Accident ſtopped near *Grays-Inn*, *Francis*, who was a Student of that Houſe, unfortunately approaching the Coach, ungenerouſly inſulted a Man in that Condition, by asking him how he liked his Morning Heat, or Words to that Effect:

Effect: Upon which the Priſoner hauked and ſpit in his Face; *Francis* ſurprized and provoked with this Affront, having a little *Bamboe* Cane in his Hand not bigger than the Tip of a Man's Finger, puſhed it into the Coach, and unluckily thruſt the Ferrel into his Eye. He lived ſo long afterward in *Newgate*, as to cauſe a very great Debate among the Surgeons, who attended the Coroners Inqueſt, whether or no he dyed of the Wound in his Eye, or of a Fever contracted by the Anguiſh and Pain of his Whipping. Nevertheleſs, the poor Man ſuffered the Rigour of the Law, tho' it could not be ſuppoſed, that with ſuch an Inſtrument, he could have any Deſign to kill.

IT not being convenient to encounter his Politicks, we are obliged more cloſely to obſerve his Matters of Fact. When he gives an Account of the Murder of *Liſle*, one of the Regicides, he is under a very great Miſtake in one Circumſtance, if the other printed Accounts of that Matter which I have ſeen, are true. *P.* 648. *But three deſperate* Iriſhmen *hoping to make their Fortunes by ſuch a Service, went thither and killed him as he was going to Church, and being well mounted and ill purſued got into* France. The Perſons that killed *Liſle* at *Lauſanne*, retreated to the Boat that brought them, in which croſſing the Lake, they

they ſoon got out of the Dominions of that little State. One would have thought that the Author who had been on the Spot ſhould have conſidered, that ſo mountainous a Country as *Switzerland*, was not the moſt proper for Horſemen to make their Eſcape. By this Miſtake we may ſee, that a little more Judgment and Knowledge of Things were as neceſſary on one certain Occaſion, as a good Memory.

P. 667. *He called for many of them and ſpoke to them very earneſtly on that Subject in his Cloſet; upon which the Term of cloſetting was toſsed about. Many of theſe gave him very flat and hardy Denyals: Others, tho' more ſilent, were not yet leſs ſteady. So that, when after a long Practice both of Threatning and ill Uſage on the one Hand, and of Promiſes and Corruption on the other, the King ſaw he could not bring them into a Compliance, he at laſt diſſolved the Parliament.* Here is a noble Picture of the ſublimeſt Virtue in Men, whom the Threats of a Prince could not terrify, nor Promiſes of Rewards, corrupt. How this agrees with his Character of the ſame Men juſt before, Mankind ſhall judge; when *p.* 623. he was pleaſed to give us a different Idea of theſe Gentlemen, by telling us that, *Moſt of them were furious and violent, and recommended themſelves to the King,*

King, by putting every Thing in his Power. Such a Change in ſo ſhort a Time, exceeded the greateſt Metamorphoſis in *Ovid*; I leave the Reader to his own Comment.

P. 693. *He ſaid he had been nine Years married, and never had the Confidence to preſs this Matter on the Queen, which he ſaid, I had now brought eaſily in a Day.* What would have been Confidence in a Husband, muſt certainly be ſomewhat more in Dr. **Burnet.** I cannot imagine why he tells this Story, except it is to let us know that ſo wiſe and penetrating a Prince, joyned in the ſame Opinion of his Modeſty with the reſt of the World.

He now comes to the memorable Year 88, in which happened a very momentous Incident; on this he ſpends ſeveral Pages, in all which I ſhall not preſume to contradict him, but refer the Reader to a more unexceptionable Author, the famous Mr. **William Fuller,** who has obliged the World with a more pertinent, coherent, and plauſible Account of this Matter. As theſe two great Men abſolutely contradict one another, it is impoſſible that both ſhould be in the Right. I will not preiudice or influence the Reader in behalf of Mr. **Fuller**

againſt the Biſhop; but as they both ſtand upon an equal Foot of Credit with the greater Part of the World, fairly leave it to his own Deciſion, which he will believe, the Prieſt, or the Layman.

P. 795. *So ſhe went to* Portſmouth, *and from thence in a Man of War over to* France. Tho' it is of no great Conſequence in what Port the Queen embark'd; yet it ſhews the Negligence of this Writer, and what little Care he took to be well inform'd in common Matter of Fact. The Queen croſſed the *Thames* from *Whitehall* to *Lambeth*, where ſhe took Coach and went to *Graveſend*; here ſhe embarked on a Veſſel prepared for this Purpoſe, ſailed down the River, and landed at *Calais*. I could give the Reader Inſtances of ſuch Miſtakes in every Page of this Reign, if it were neceſſary to convince him more of this Author's repeated Falſhoods. If he is ſo erroneous in his own Times, and in Things of which he may be ſuppoſed to be a Witneſs, how little is he to be depended on in the remoter Scenes of his Book, where he cannot be contradicted. Beſide, the wrong Turns and Diſguiſes of Fact, the poſitive Aſſertions contrary to Truth ſo univerſally ſpread thro' this Book, makes me remember a Story of the famous *Harry Killigrew*, who had much

more

more Wit than came to one Man's Share. This Gentleman being ask'd what Relation he had to Lying, *Killigrew*, pleasantly reply'd, *Sir, that is no Distinction in our Family, we are all Lyars, my Father was a Lyar, my Uncles were Lyars, my Brothers were Lyars, and I myself am a very great Lyar, but I suppose you mean my Cousin* Will, *who never spoke one Word of Truth*: A Man may have Leave to be free with himself; tho' this was not true as to Fact, there having been a great many Persons of Probity of that Family and Name, we must allow for the Extravagance of Wit and Humour. If this merry Story is applicable to any Book now extant in the World, it is to this before us, in which, without any Aggravation or Hyperbole, we may boldly affirm, not to mention Faults and Mistakes common to other Men, there are as many positive Untruths, and which the Author knew in his Conscience to be such, as there are Pages in the Book, whose Number amounts to 826.

It is now high Time to draw to a Conclusion of this Work, in which I hope that I have given my Readers no Offence by exceeding the Bounds of Decency and good Manners, notwithstanding the great Provocations that he has given: I am not ashamed to be thought

good natur'd, and muſt therefore own, that when I have been obliged to treat him with Severity, it was a Violence to my Inclinations. But if a Man will break thro' all the Fences of Decency and common Juſtice, make War upon Truth and Virtue, and thus run a Muck at Mankind, he muſt be diſarm'd, regarded as mad, and be bound and chain'd like a Mad-man. An unfair Enemy has no Right to the Law of Arms, and can expect no more Quarter, than he himſelf has given.

HERE I am obliged to leave him, tho' not for want of Matter; in that he is never deficient: But I have now brought him down to the Brink of the Revolution, a Sea, too deep and dangerous for me to fathom. The ſecret Springs of that great Event, like the Fountains of *Nile*, are * inſcrutable; Whirlwinds and Thunder forbid the Search of what is too ſacred for our Speculation. However, I flatter my ſelf that I have almoſt hunted him down; and tho', like a

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* The Source of *Nile*, tho' now diſcovered, was unknown to the Ancients: The *Egyptians* had ſuch an Opinion of the Sanctity of this River, that they thought the Gods would not permit his Head to be known. *V. Herodotus*, *Juſtin*, &c.

Fox, the harder he is preſt, and the nearer to Death, he leaves a Scent much the ſtronger, he runs too rough Ground for me to follow: The Reader will therefore excuſe my Cowardice, if I ſound a Retreat, and quit a Chace where the Neck is in Danger.

—*Tu, ſapiens, finire memento.*

POSTSCRIPT.

SOON after the Publication of this Book, there appeared in the *London Journal*, two Weeks conſecutively, in Defence of Dr. **Burnet**, ſome Animadverſions on theſe Remarks. Wrong, and Unjuſt, as they were, we deferred to anſwer them at that Time, in Expectation, that ſome Champion of the Party would vindicate their favourite Hiſtorian by anſwering the whole Book; this we were made believe; but as more than a Year has elapſed ſince theſe Remarks firſt appear'd, and no one has been ſo hardy as to undertake this Province, ſo difficult it is for the Wit of Man to make Truth Falſhood; we have thought fit to take this Opportunity of a ſecond Edition, to ſhew the Injuſtice, as well as Inconſiſtences of theſe Animadverſions.

IT is remarkable, that of all Days in the Year, the Author of the *Flying Poſt*, and the *London* Journaliſt, as if it were in concert to blow up the Royal Family, pitch'd upon the **Thirtieth of January** to worry the Memory of the martyr'd King and his Father. The firſt of theſe Writers fell under the Cenſure of the Adminiſtration, for the impudent Falſhoods, that he aſſerted on that Occaſion; how the other came to eſcape, we know not, tho' his Guilt was aggravated by this Circumſtance, that his preſent Majeſty is immediately deſcended from the Loyns of this Prince whom he ſo vilifies, and makes the greateſt Knave and Hypocrite that ever wore a Crown. How fine a Compliment he has made to the King, in thus abuſing his Great-grand-father, I leave the World to judge.

HE begins his Attack with accuſing me of perſonally ill treating Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, and Biſhop **Burnet**; his Words are theſe. "As for the perſonal and groſs Abuſes of "the Archbiſhop and Biſhop **Burnet**, "which the Author has taken implicitely "from an old Libel of Dr. *Hicks* againſt "them; it is enough to ſay, that there was "a very full Anſwer to it written in the "Year 1696, by the Biſhop himſelf, in "which every particular Slander was an-

"ſwer'd,

" ſwer'd, and to which not the leaſt Reply " was ever made." The Journaliſt is very much miſtaken; I had not the Story of Dr. *Tillotſon*'s Grace, from the Book of Dr. *Hicks*, as he aſſerts; I had my ſelf the Account at *Cambridge* above eight or nine Years before that Book of Dr. *Hicks* ever appear'd: The Story was occaſionally told me, by my happening to make a Viſit in the ſame Chambers, where that great Man reſided, when he was of *Clare-Hall;* the Rooms ſtood in the ſame Place, tho', as I remember, the College had been rebuilt. The Tradition was univerſal, and paſs'd uncontradicted in the Univerſity, at which time there were ſeveral Perſons old enough to have remember'd this Incident, and who wanted not Inclination to have done Juſtice to Dr. *Tillotſon* by diſproving this Slander, if there had been any room to have contradicted the Fact. As Dr. *Tillotſon* never thought fit, as I could hear, to juſtify himſelf againſt this Aſperſion, during his own Life, by any ſolemn and publick Denial of the Fact, it is to be preſum'd, that he had too much Conſcience to tell a poſitive Untruth, and too much Candor to diſown an Indiſcretion of his younger Days, of which it is poſſible, that he might have been both aſhamed and repented. What Dr. **Burnet** ſays in his Juſtification two Years after his Death, will bear very little Weight with all

who

who know him: The Argument that Dr. *Hicks* never thought fit to rejoin, and anſwer Dr. **Burnet**, will fall to the Ground, when we conſider the Circumſtances of the Times in which Dr. *Hicks* wrote; he had averr'd this Story of Dr. *Tillotſon* in writing, and could not bring any farther Teſtimony, but the perſonal Evidence of thoſe who knew this Matter, who muſt be ſuppoſed too cautious to expoſe themſelves by appearing in ſuch a Cauſe, where the Current of the Times was wholly againſt them, eſpecially, if they expected any Preferment in that Government. All the Proofs that Dr. **Burnet** brings, is the Teſtimony of ſome Perſons who lived at that time, and who pretend not to have heard this Story. This is at beſt but a negative Argument, and will be very unconcluſive as to the Proof, or Diſproof in Matter of Fact. For theſe Gentlemen to pretend that they did not remember this Story ſo many Years after, was a very eaſy Compliment to the Memory of Dr. *Tillotſon*; it is what good-natur'd Men, on the like Occaſion, without any great Breach of Morality, do every Day, thro' Tenderneſs of hurting the Reputation of another; but if the ſame Perſons had been examin'd in a Court of Juſtice on this Head, it is highly probable, that the Awe and Solemnity of an Oath, might have awaken'd and refreſh'd their Memories.

His next Objection, is for charging Dr. **Burnet** with want of Charity, when he aſſerts, that the Duke of *Lenox* was a Papiſt, tho' he had ſo much Reaſon to believe the contrary. For the Proof of this Charge, I have quoted Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*, who has given us an Account of a Proclamation at this time by King *James* VI. to clear the Duke from this Aſperſion. This Writer denies not, that there was ſuch a Proclamation, but makes this extraordinary Compliment to the Memory of that Prince. "I believe "no Body will doubt, that the Archbiſhop "tells the Truth, when he ſays, that ſuch a "Proclamation was iſſu'd, but whether "that Proclamation contains a true or falſe "Account, depends not on the Credit of "Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*, but the King him-"ſelf. It was publiſhed in order to juſtify "the King in adhering to a Favourite, for "whom the whole Nation had an Averſion, "and whom they ſuſpected of being a falſe "Convert, and whom the Nobility had "forc'd from him, and oblig'd to retire in-"to *France*, and whither that King had "ſuch an inviolable Regard to Truth, as "to make him incapable of ſetting out an "untrue Fact, when it was for his Intereſt "to do it, I leave to the Judgment of all, "who know any thing of this Hiſtory, *&c.*" When this Animadverter appeals to all, who have

have read the Hiſtory of K. JAMES in regard to their Belief of this Matter, I muſt tell him, that he is very much miſtaken, if he thinks the Generality of Men as uncharitable as himſelf; none but the moſt deeply prejudiced, without better Proof, will believe a Prince capable of ſo baſe a Forgery, ſuch an Impoſition on Mankind, with the Solemnity of a Royal Proclamation, the Contents of which, if not true, could ſo eaſily, and would ſo certainly have been diſprov'd at the Time. That the Nobility in this Juncture, forced that innocent Nobleman from the Arms of the King his Kinſman and Maſter, will be no great Diſcredit to the Duke of *Lenox*: When we reflect on the Rage of the Sedition, the univerſal Diffuſion of the Poyſon, which has made the *Scotch* Hiſtory of theſe Times read ſo black; we ſhall the leſs wonder, that a turbulent and factious Nobility, who had imbib'd ſuch horrid Principles, and were unreſtrain'd by any Senſe of Duty to God or their King, ſhould by Violence baniſh their fellow Subject, when the ſame Men made no Scruple more than once to ſeize and impriſon the Perſon of their Prince. What this Writer inſinuates, ſeems no very good Argument, when he urges, that "Archbiſhop *Spotſwood* ſay-
"ing ſo little on this Occaſion, and making
"no Remarks of his own upon it, but
"barely relating the Proclamation, and the
"King's

" King's Motives for iſſuing it, makes it " very doubtful, whether or no, he was ſa- " tisfied of the Truth of it." This odd Way of Reaſoning, obliges us to repeat the Archbiſhop's Words, that the Reader may the better judge of his Sentiments on this Occaſion. *Spotſwood*, p. 324. " This the " King made to be proclaim'd at *Edenburgh*, " that the People might ſee what Wrong the " Duke had ſuſtain'd, during his Abode in " the Realm, by the uncharitable Suſpicion " both of Miniſters and others." As theſe are the Archbiſhop's own Words, and not thoſe of the Proclamation, it is a ſufficient Remark to convince every one, that *Spotſwood* in his own Opinion believed the Duke of *Lenox* to be injured, and as to his Sentiments of K. JAMES, we ſhall have Occaſion by-and-by, to let the World ſee what that reverend Prelate thought of this injur'd Prince. His next ſtrong Argument to enforce this Matter is, that *Spotſwood* ſays, " Yet did not this remove the Jealouſies " of the People." That may be true, and yet the Jealouſies never the better grounded. It is the Misfortune of Innocence not to be always vindicated at the Time, tho' the Goodneſs of Providence, generally does Juſtice to the injured at laſt. We all know, that CHARLES I. and Archbiſhop LAUD ſuffer'd under the Calumny of being popiſhly inclin'd, as well as K. JAMES I. The

Puritans

Puritans of their Times were as wicked as their Predeceſſors; if Truth, Reaſon, and Juſtice could have removed thoſe Jealouſies, and open'd the Eyes of the People: We had miſs'd the Calamities of a civil War, and that orthodox, perſecuted Church of *England*, ſo glorious in her Sufferings, would have been leſs triumphant in one reſpect, by wanting in her Martyrology, the King and the Prelate.

HIS next Argument to prove the Duke a Papiſt, is the old Story of *Diſpenſations from* Rome, *whereby the Catholicks were permitted to promiſe, ſwear, ſubſcribe, and do what elſe ſhould be required of them*, &c. this has been charg'd on the Catholicks, not only in *Scotland*, but in other Countries, and always deny'd by them with the Solemnity of dying Aſſeverations; ſo that we thought this Chimera had been long enough ago exploded by all Men of good Senſe and common Ingenuity: If ſuch a thing could be done, the *Roman* Catholicks of *England* at this Day, muſt be not only Fools, but downright Madmen, to pay double Taxes, lye under ſo many Incapacities, with all the Terror of Penal Laws hanging conſtantly over their Heads, and which may be put in execution every Day, at the Caprice of every Conſtable. What Men in their Senſes would ſuffer all this Uneaſineſs, if the Pope could

could give them Leave to diſſemble their Religion, and by taking Oaths and Teſts qualify themſelves to enjoy the Privileges of *Engliſhmen*, and be on an equal Foot with the reſt of their Fellow-ſubjects? The following Reaſon to prove the Duke of *Lenox*'s Religion is not much ſtronger; here the Journaliſt forgets himſelf, after having own'd the Truth of the Proclamation mentioned by *Spotſwood*, he draws an Argument againſt it from the Silence of *Melvil* in not taking Notice of it; *Melvil* was certainly in the right, after having call'd the Duke Papiſt, not to bring ſo authentick a Teſtimony to confute his own Injuſtice. This Writer might equally infer from the Silence of Dr. **Burnet** in not mentioning this Proclamation, tho' they both without Diſpute knew of it; *Melvil* liv'd at the Time, and was a Witneſs to the Thing; Dr. **Burnet** had read the *Scotch* Hiſtory, and the Incident was too remarkable, not to be induſtriouſly forgotten: But the ſame Reaſon influences Dr. **Burnet** as well as *Melvil*; he was unwilling to give himſelf the Lye; however, he was a little diſcreeter, and knew the World better than **Britanicus**; this prevented him from making ſo weak an Objection, as to queſtion the Truth of the Fact in the Proclamation, for which Reaſon, he would not mention that Paper at all; he was too ſenſible, that if the Duke of *Lenox* had

had dy'd really in the Communion of *Rome*, the Vanity of that Church, without any regard to the immediate Intereſt of K. JAMES, would ſoon have contradicted his *Scottiſh* Majeſty, and not let him have rob'd them, by making ſo illuſtrious a Convert. This Reflection juſtly prevented him from charging on a Prince ſo abſurd a Calumny, as to make him tell ſo ſolemn a Lye in a Royal Proclamation, and in Caſe of Fact, which if not true, would have been diſprov'd on the Spot. Dr. **Burnet**, raſh and hardy as he was with all his Aſſurance, could not go ſuch a Length, but left this Province to the *London Journal*.

HIS next Attack on me is for charging Dr. **Burnet** again with want of Charity, in poſitively aſſerting, that K. JAMES wrote to the Pope; on this Occaſion, he ſays, that "I make it a Thing impoſſible to believe, "becauſe one who endeavours, as K. JAMES "did, to prove the Pope to be Antichriſt, "could never have written a Letter to "him." He is very much miſtaken; the Strength of my Argument turns upon another Point, *viz.* My Lord *Balmerinock*'s ſolemn Acquittal of the King, when that Miniſter lay under Sentence of Death; the other is only a collateral Suggeſtion of the Improbability of the Thing, from the King's writing againſt the Pope. As moſt of his

Objec-

Objections on this Head are the ſame with Dr. **Burnet**'s. I muſt refer the Reader to the Anſwers I have made in the Book itſelf, and ſhall therefore only take Notice of this Writer's additional Arguments, which are long Quotations from Cardinal *D' Oſſat*'s Letters, and are at beſt ſo far from Proofs, that they rather deſtroy the main Point for which he contends, *viz.* the King's writing to the Pope. He owns himſelf that the Cardinal is in the Dark. His Words are theſe, " But as he was in the Dark about thoſe " Deſigns and Perſons, he propoſes two pro- " bable Opinions concerning them. The " Subſtance of the firſt Opinion is, that the " King or ſome Lords by his Order, (for he " ſays that he does not know that this Agent " brought any Letters from the King him- " ſelf) ſent him again to the Pope to favour " his Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*". This is a noble Argument to prove the Certitude of the King's writing to the Pope; becauſe a great Cardinal, who was vers'd in all the publick Affairs of that Time, and who probably would have known this Matter, if true, poſitively affirms that he did not know it. The Subſtance of his ſecond Opinion is, " That not the King, nor his " Dependents, ſent this Agent, but the Ca- " tholick and diſaffected Lords of his Coun- " try, (tho' he expreſsly adds that the Man " had ſaid, that he was ſent by the King

" himſelf, where he thought it would re-
" commend him) and that the End of the
" Lords in ſending him was to deſire the
" Pope to admoniſh him to reſtore the Li-
" berty of the Catholick Religion in *Scot-*
" *land* ". This ſecond Opinion of the Cardinal, that neither the King, or his Dependents, ſent this Agent, is ſtill a ſtronger Inducement to make us believe that the King did not write to the Pope, tho' he brings it as an Argument to prove the Affirmative. To confront this precarious way of Reaſoning, we have the Aſſeveration of a Man under Sentence of Death, and the Word of a great Prince, who poſitively denies it; notwithſtanding all which, Dr. **Burnet** and **Britannicus** will believe neither of them: At this rate of Judging we muſt conclude that there is no ſuch Thing as Honour, or Conſcience; and that in Things doubtful and ill prov'd, neither Humanity, or Religion obliges us to incline to the charitable Side. There are ſome Men in the World, who meaſure the Conſciences of others by their own, and believe that all Men act, as they themſelves would on the ſame Occcaſion. Becauſe the King of *Scotland*, as he inſinuates, tho' without Proof, wrote to the King of *Spain*, he would infer from thence, that he was of the ſame Religion; Princes of different Communions daily correſpond without that Conſequence; the King of

Scotland's

Scotland's writing to the King of *Spain*, if true, made him no more a Papiſt, than the King of *Spain*'s receiving a Letter from the King of *Scotland* made him a Proteſtant. His next Authority will be of equal Weight, to prove this Fact on the King; this is a Letter from the ſame Cardinal *D' Oſſat* to the King of *France*, dated from *Rome* in the Year 1596. " To Day after " Dinner I had an Audience of the Pope, " and acquainted his Holineſs with the Con- " tents of the Duke of *Seſſe*'s Letter con- " cerning the King of *Scotland*, which was " intercepted and decypher'd, to which his " Holineſs made me no Anſwer; only when " I asked him, if he had a Mind that your " Majeſty ſhould ſend him the Original Let- " ter; he anſwer'd, that there was no Oc- " caſion ". What is this to the Purpoſe in proving that King JAMES wrote to the Pope? Here is a Letter intercepted in *France* concerning King JAMES; at the ſame Time we are told no Contents of this Letter, by whom, and to whom it was written, nor on what Occaſion; and yet this is brought to ſupport Dr. **Burnet**'s poſitive Aſſertion, that King JAMES wrote to the Pope. As the whole Tenour and Conduct of that Prince's Life in regard to Religion, abſolutely deſtroy all juſt Suſpicion of his being a Papiſt, and conſequently the Probability of his Writing to the Pope, I muſt once more

charge Dr. **Burnet** with Raſhneſs and want of Charity in accuſing this King of a Fact, to prove which he and his Friend have brought ſo little Evidence. But **Britannicus** goes beyond Dr. **Burnet**, the laſt only makes him inclin'd to Popery, whereas the firſt ſays poſitively that he was a Papiſt. For after having, as he thinks, prov'd by Sr. *Ralph Winwood*'s Memoirs that he correſponded with *Spain*, and by Cardinal *D' Oſſat*'s Letters that he wrote to the Pope, tho' thoſe Letters intimate poſitively the contrary, he is pleaſed to draw a very ſtrange Conſequence in uſing my own Words on another Occaſion, " What greater Evidence " can we have of a Man's Religion"? If this is Logick, let us burn *Ariſtotle* and *Burgerſdicius*. At this rate of judging Men and Things, when we reflect on the equivocal Manner, the conſtant Diſguiſe and Sophiſtry of a certain Writer, we have more Probability, greater Motives of Credibility to ſway our Belief, that ſuch a Man is a Jeſuit, at leaſt has very much convers'd with Jeſuits, than that King JAMES VI. of *Scotland* was a Papiſt.

HIS next Complaint is, that the good Biſhop is abus'd for ſaying " that K. JAMES " ſet on the Murder of the Earl of *Murray*, " upon a ſecret Jealouſy that the King had " conceived of him ". And with very good Reaſon;

Reaſon; till that Matter is undeniably proved, it cannot be poſitively affirm'd, without the greateſt Breach of Charity, and a Violation of all that is ſacred in regard to the Dead, by charging an innocent Perſon, eſpecially a King, with one of the moſt horrid, and atrocious of Crimes. The Reader will find moſt of his Arguments on this Head confuted before in my Anſwer to Dr. **Burnet**; but **Britannicus** gives a very wrong Turn to the Matter, and would have you believe, that I make Archbiſhop *Spotſwood* ground the Death of the Earl of *Murray* upon his having been in *Bothwell*'s Conſpiracy; I ſay no ſuch Thing, and have only quoted the Archbiſhop's Narrative of the Matter; upon this I make my own Reflections on the Juſtice of the Proceeding in the Caſe of the Earl of *Murray*, who by his Raſhneſs juſtifyed his Fate; and at the ſame Time I aſſert the King's Innocence. Upon a due Examination of this Matter, it will be found that the Point doth not turn upon the Earl of *Murray*'s being really Guilty, or not Guilty; that is wholly out of the Caſe. *Spotſwood* tells you, "That a Rumor was ſpread, that the Earl "of *Murray* was ſeen in the Palace with "*Bothwell* the Night of the Enterprize, and "upon this, *Huntley* prevail'd on the King "to grant him a Commiſſion to apprehend "*Murray*, and bring him to Tryal". Eve-

ry Government has a right to bring their Subjects to a fair Tryal according to the Prescription of the Laws, and the Subject at the same Time is obliged to submit to all the legal Methods employ'd to bring him to such a Tryal, by which he has an Opportunity of purging himself. But if a Man will be so rash and desperate as to resist Authority, he must thank himself for all the Consequences; such was the present Case. Here is a Lord Lieutenant of a County, and a Sheriff, with a Warrant from the King, go to apprehend a Nobleman, who, tho' summon'd to surrender according to Form of Law, resists, kills the Sheriff, and is himself killed in the Dispute, in Heat of Blood. To make this Argument *à fortiori*, we will wave the Authority of a Lord Lieutenant and a Sheriff, the chief Officers under the King, in the Discharge of the executive Power, and suppose a common Constable with a legal Warrant from a Justice of Peace, should kill a Man wrongfully in apprehending him; I appeal to all the World, nay to **Britannicus** himself, whether or no the Justice or Magistrate, who gave such legal Warrant, could be responsible for the ill Conduct of the Officer in the Execution of it. By Parity of Reason, King JAMES must be acquitted of any Guilt in this Affair, supposing the Earl of *Huntley* had acted never so wrong; but by *Spotswood*'s Account, no Body

Body tranſgreſs'd the Law, but *Murray* himſelf, and conſequently he had the Guilt of his own Blood on his own Head.

THIS Writer has more than once inſinuated as if *Spotſwood* had an ill Opinion of K. JAMES in both Affairs, that of the Duke of *Lenox*, and that of the Earl of *Murray*: To find whether or no he is not unjuſt to the good Archbiſhop, we muſt ſee the Character, which that Prelate has given of this Prince at the End of his Life. *Spotſwood*, p. 546. " The *Thurſday* before his " Death, he deſired the bleſſed Sacrament " to be miniſtred unto him, which he re- " ceived with great Devotion, profeſſing " to the Prince his Son, and thoſe who ſtood " by, that he had received a ſingular Com- " fort thereby, wiſhing all Men to do the " like, when they were viſited in that Sort. " From that Time to the Hour of his " Death, he was ſtill almoſt praying, and " had ſome Sentence of Piety in his Mouth. " As he drew near to his End, the Prayer " uſually ſaid at the Hour of Death being " ended, having repeated once or twice " theſe Words, *Veni Domine Jeſu*, he gave " up the Ghoſt, without any Pangs that are " commonly ſeen in Perſons that are dying. " He was the *Solomon* of this Age, admi- " red for his wiſe Government and his " Knowledge in all Manner of Learning;

" for his Wiſdom, Moderation, and Love
" of Juſtice; for his Patience and Piety,
" which ſhined above all his other Virtues,
" and is witneſſed in the learned Works he
" left to Poſterity. His Name ſhall never be
" forgotten, but remain in Honour as long
" as the World endureth. We that had the
" Honour and Happineſs many Times to
" hear him diſcourſe of the moſt weighty
" Matters, as well of Policy as Divinity;
" now that he is gone, muſt comfort our-
" ſelves with the Remembrance of theſe
" Excellences, and muſt reckon it not the
" leaſt Part of our Happineſs to have lived
" in his Days". The Reverend Writer, who gives us this Character, was a Man of too good Senſe to be very much deceiv'd in a Perſon with whom he was ſo well and ſo long acquainted; and was too honeſt a Man, if he had other Sentiments, to impoſe on the World: He was a kind of Confeſſor to this Prince; at leaſt, tho' not under that Name, had the Direction of his Conſcience; conſequently he muſt know him much better than Dr. **Burnet**, or his Friend **Britannicus**: Beſides, when he wrote this, he had one Foot in the Grave, and being at the ſame Time elevated to the higheſt Station in the Church of *Scotland*, the Primacy of St. *Andrews*, could lie under no Temptation of Flattery: All this conſider'd, we appeal to the Conſcience of the Reader,

nay

nay of **Britannicus** himſelf, whether or no it is conceivable, that this great and good Man ſhould give ſuch a Character of a Prince, whom he believ'd guilty of the vileſt Hypocriſy in regard to his Religion, of the meaneſt Diſingenuity, nay a kind of Forgery in the Affair of the Proclamation, and of ſo execrable a Sin, as wilful and premeditated Murder in the Caſe of the Earl of *Murray*. Theſe divine Qualities, Wiſdom, Moderation, Love of Juſtice, Patience, and Piety are abſolutely incompatible with the Guilt of Hypocriſy and Murder, which are the Crimes fix'd upon this Prince by Dr. **Burnet**, who muſt juſtly ſuffer in the Opinion of the World, for thus outraging ſo much Virtue; and if he is to be condemned, how much greater a Weight of Guilt muſt that Man bear, who with every Circumſtance of Aggravation endeavours to ſupport and make good theſe Calumnies; but tho' he has not been able to defend his Friend, he has done him ſome Service in making him a kind of Foil to him, and in convincing the World, that it was poſſible for Dr. **Burnet** to leave behind him a Man more unjuſt than himſelf.

THE next Injuſtice charg'd on me by this Writer, is the Affair of my Lord *Antrim*: Here he fancies that he has ſufficiently juſtify'd his Friend, by charging the Marqueſs with

with Crimes which are nothing to the purpoſe in the Diſpute between us. It is evident, and may be ſeen with half an Eye, that the Deſign of the Biſhop in charging my Lord *Antrim* with much Bloodſhed, and then telling the World that he was clear'd by producing Letters from CHARLES I. and his Queen, was to involve them in the Guilt of the Maſſacre. To render this improbable, I argued, that if my Lord *Antrim* had been really guilty of ſo much Bloodſhed, he would moſt certainly have been ſeverely puniſh'd by the Rump Parliament, or *Cromwell*; for we find no ſuch Marks of Lenity in thoſe Governments, to make us poſſibly believe that they would have let ſuch an enormous Criminal eſcape, eſpecially when they were tempted by the Confiſcation of ſo noble an Eſtate; on the contrary, we find ſo ſevere an Inquiſition into that Affair, as involv'd the Innocent as well as the Guilty. All that **Britannicus** can ſay in anſwer is, "That it is to be preſum'd that he kept out "of the Way, or elſe they would not have "let him have ſat quiet". And in another Place he ſays, "And I believe by which e-"ver Commiſſion he acted, the Parliament "and *Cromwell* would have judged it un-"lawful, and have puniſh'd him according-"ly, if they had got him into their Hands". With **Britannicus**'s leave, there is no Preſumption againſt matter of Fact; it is notoriouſly

toriouſly known, that the Marqueſs of *Antrim* ſat unmoleſted at his Seat in the North of *Ireland*, during the twelve Years of the Uſurpation: But let us ſuppoſe, for once, that he had abſconded; if they could not have caught his Perſon, they could have caught his Eſtate, he could not have carry'd the County of *Antrim* away on his Back: But Biſhop **Burnet** himſelf tells us, that he was in full Poſſeſſion of that great Eſtate, and had ſettled it on his Brother at the time of the Reſtoration. To ſupport the Charge of the Biſhop againſt this Nobleman, **Britannicus** brings ſeveral other Crimes againſt him. Theſe are eight in Number. The firſt is,

THAT the Marqueſs of *Antrim* was to have had a Hand in ſurprizing the Caſtle of *Dublin*, 1641.

Secondly, That he was of the Rebels Party before the 15th of *September*, 1643.

Thirdly, That he enter'd into the *Roman Catholick* Confederacy before the Peace in 1643.

Fourthly, That he conſtantly adher'd to the Nuncio's Party, in Oppoſition to his Majeſty's Authority.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, That he ſat from Time to Time in the ſupreme Council of *Kilkenny*.

Sixthly, That he ſigned the execrable Oath of Aſſociation.

Seventhly, That he was commiſſion'd, and acted as Lieutenant General from the ſaid Aſſembly at *Kilkenny*.

Eighthly, That he declar'd, by ſeveral Letters of his own penning, himſelf to be in Conjunction with *Owen Roe Oneal*, &c.

We will tell **Britannicus** another Crime, which would have incapacitated my Lord *Antrim* from receiving any Benefit from the Act of Settlement, this is, if he had ever aſſerted the Regal againſt the Papal Authority, and ever after had repented, ſo as to have received Abſolution for it, ſuch a qualm of Conſcience would have intirely diſqualify'd him. But all this is nothing to the Purpoſe, my Lord *Antrim* might have done all theſe things without any Guilt, if he had the King's Conſent and Authority; whoever has that Sanction can be no Rebel by the Laws of *England*; and no body will deny, but that the King can give any of his Subjects leave to correſpond and mix with his Enemies, if he thinks it for his Service; this

would

would certainly excuſe my Lord *Antrim* at the Reſtoration, when the Son of King CHARLES was on the Throne: Though I muſt entirely join with **Britannicus** in Opinion, that ſuch a Plea would have done him very little Service with the Gentlemen of Forty one: Thoſe Tyrants, if they could have pick'd theſe Holes in his Coat, would have had very little Mercy on a faithful Subject, who made no ſcruple to arraign his and their King and Maſter as a Traytor. To end this Diſpute, the whole Affair turns on this one Point of Bloodſhed, of which there is not the leaſt mention in theſe eight Articles againſt the Marqueſs. In Geometrical, the moſt certain of all Demonſtration, Arguments *ab abſurdo* are as ſtrong and concluſive as the moſt poſitive Inferences; we muſt therefore once more affirm, that, if humanly ſpeaking, it was morally impoſſible for my Lord *Antrim* to have been guilty of the Maſſacre, or any ſuch Bloodſhed, without being ſeverely chaſtis'd by *Cromwell*, or the Rump, when they had him in their Power; and it evidently appears to the contrary, that he was not chaſtis'd by *Cromwell*, or the Rump, though they had him in their Power; it will follow, that it is morally impoſſible for my Lord *Antrim* to have been guilty of the Maſſacre, *&c.* Conſequently, the Letters of the King and Queen could not excuſe a Man in the Commiſſion of a Fact

which

which he did not commit; and of courſe the Malice of Dr. **Burnet** is defeated.

AFTER this train of undeniable Conſequences, there remains nothing more to be ſaid on this Affair of my Lord *Antrim*, but a trifle of no great Importance, which I omitted to take Notice of in its proper Place. This Gentleman would fain ſet the Biſhop right in an Objection that I have made againſt the Probability of the Biſhop's knowing much of this Affair, from the rawneſs of his Age at this Time, when he brags to have ſeen much of the Management at this juncture: To obviate this Objection, he ſays, that the Biſhop "does not pretend to give "a methodical Relation of the Times be"fore the Reſtoration, but only to relate "ſome Particulars of thoſe Times, that "came to his Knowledge". If an Author will be ſo preciſe and exact, as conſtantly to ſet down in the Margent, as he goes along, the Date of the Year right againſt the Text of the Book, he muſt thank himſelf, if by his jumbling of Matters, there is any Miſtake made in his Chronology: He owns, that young Mr. **Burnet** did not come to *London* till the Year 1662, though the Doctor, in his Book, marks the Years 60, and 61 in the Margent, when he mentions my Lord *Antrim*. For once we will give him a Year or two; this Conceſſion will make him

no

no more than 19 years of Age, too ſmall a difference of Time to do any great Service in ripening the Judgment, ſo as to qualify the young *Scotchman* to be an *Engliſh* Privy Counſellor.

His next Objection is to what I have ſaid of Dr. **Burnet**, in his Story from *Stoupe*; there is no need of diſputing on this Head; he owns himſelf that there was a Miſtake; I have had the Charity to charge him with no more, and have only warn'd the Reader not to have too implicit a Faith in the Narrative Part of his Book.

As to what he ſays of Dr. *Sharp* and General *Monk*, I hope that I have ſufficiently anſwered thoſe Calumnies, in my Remarks on Biſhop **Burnet**; and if I have fail'd in regard to the General, all thoſe barbarous Slanders, both of the Doctor and his Friend **Britannicus**, are intirely diſprov'd in the excellent Preface to the Life of General *Monk*, written by Dr. *Skinner*, and lately publiſhed: To that Book I refer the Reader for his farther Satisfaction. I ſhall therefore only affirm in defence of Dr. *Sharp*, that he had intirely reſign'd and given up his Agency for the *Presbyterians*, two Years before that he accepted the Archbiſhoprick of St. *Andrews*, and conſequently could not betray when he was not truſted. The Malice

of

of this Journaliſt ſeems more ulcerated againſt General *Monk*, than even the Rage of Dr. **Burnet**; for when he would juſtify him, in his Aſperſions on that Great Man, he uſes this Expreſſion, "But he blames him "for doing it by impious and treacherous "Means". I muſt once more appeal to the Reader, whether or no it is poſſible to believe, that a Man who is ſo hardy as to affirm, that General *Monk* us'd impious and treacherous Means in the Affair of the Reſtoration, is not, at the bottom of his Heart, intirely diſpleas'd at that more than glorious Revolution.

His next Objection is more extraordinary; in contradiction to what I have affirmed againſt a Miſtake of Dr. **Burnet**, who would make the Declaration from *Breda* extend to *Scotland* and *Ireland*, **Britannicus**, to ſupport the Falſhood of that Aſſertion, in his way of Reaſoning ſeems to inſinuate an Argument that is not a little diverting; this is, becauſe the King, in the Style of his Declaration, calls himſelf CHARLES, *by the Grace of God, King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, *&c.* by Parity of Reaſon it extended to *France* alſo: This bold Man forces me to trouble the Reader with the whole Declaration, that he may be the better Judge between us.

His

NB. there
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rations besides
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His Majesty's Gracious Declaration to all his Loving Subjects.

CHARLES, *R.*

CHARLES, by the Grace of God, King of *England, Scotland, France,* and *Ireland,* Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our Loving Subjects, of what Degree or Quality soever, Greeting. If the general Distraction and Confusion which is spread over the whole Kingdom doth not awaken all Men to a Desire and Longing that those Wounds, which have so many Years together been kept Bleeding, may be bound up, all we can say will be to no Purpose: However, after this long Silence, we have thought it our Duty to declare how much we desire to contribute thereunto; and that as we can never give over the Hope, in good Time, to obtain the Possession of that Right which God and Nature hath made our Due; so we do make it our daily Suit to the Divine Providence, that he will, in Compassion to us

and our Subjects, after so long Misery and Sufferings, remit, and put us into a quiet and peaceable Possession of that our Right, with as little Blood and Damage to our People as is possible: Nor do we desire more to enjoy what is Ours, than that all our Subjects may enjoy what by Law is theirs, by a full and intire Administration of Justice throughout the Land, and by extending our Mercy where it is wanted and deserved.

AND to the End that the Fear of Punishment may not engage any, conscious to themselves of what is past, to a Perseverance in Guilt for the Future, by opposing the Quiet and Happiness of their Country in the Restoration both of King, Peers, and People, to their Just, Ancient, and Fundamental Rights: We do by these Presents declare, That we do Grant a Free and General Pardon, which we are ready, upon demand, to pass under our Great Seal of *England*, to all our Subjects, of what Degree or Quality soever, who, within forty Days after the Publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this our Grace and Favour, and shall by any publick Act declare their doing so; and that they return to the Loyalty and Obedience of good Subjects; excepting only such Persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament: Those only excepted, let all our Subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the Word of a King,

King, ſolemnly given by this preſent Declaration, That no Crime whatſoever committed againſt us, or our Royal Father, before the Publication of this, ſhall ever riſe in Judgment, or be brought in Queſtion, againſt any of them, to the leaſt Endamagement of them, either in their Lives, Liberties or Eſtates, or (as far forth as lies in our Power) ſo much as to the Prejudice of their Reputations, by any Reproach, or Term of Diſtinction from the reſt of any of our beſt Subjects; We deſiring and ordaining, That henceforth all notes of Diſcord, Separation, and Difference of Parties, be utterly aboliſhed among all our Subjects, whom we invite and conjure to a perfect Union among themſelves, under our Protection, for the Reſettlement of Our juſt Rights and Theirs, in a free Parliament, by which, upon the Word of a King, we will be adviſed.

AND becauſe the Paſſion and Uncharitableneſs of the Times have produced ſeveral Opinions in Religion, by which Men are engaged in Parties and Animoſities againſt each other, which, when they ſhall hereafter unite in a Freedom of Converſation, will be compoſed, or better underſtood: We do declare a Liberty to tender Conſciences, and that no Man ſhall be diſquieted or call'd in queſtion for Differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion, which do not diſturb the

Peace of the Kingdom, and that we ſhall be ready to conſent to ſuch an Act of Parliament, as upon mature Deliberation ſhall be offer'd to us, for the full granting that Indulgence.

And becauſe in the continued Diſtractions of ſo many Years, and ſo many and great Revolutions, many Grants and Purchaſes of Eſtates have been made to and by many Officers, Soldiers, and others, who are now poſſeſſed of the ſame, and who may be liable to Actions at Law upon ſeveral Titles; We are likewiſe willing that all ſuch Differences, and all Things relating to the ſaid Grants, Sales, and Purchaſes, ſhall be determined in Parliament, which can beſt provide for the juſt Satisfaction of all Men who are concerned.

And We do farther declare, that we will be ready to conſent to any *Act or Acts of Parliament* to the Purpoſes aforeſaid; and for the full Satisfaction of all Arrears due to the Officers and Soldiers of the Army under the Command of General *Monck*, and that they ſhall be received into Our Service, upon as good Pay and Conditions as they now enjoy.

Given under Our Sign Manual and Privy Signet, at Our Court at Breda, *this* 14*th Day of* April, 1660. *in the Twelfth Year of our Reign.*

This

THIS is the only Declaration dated at *Breda*, call'd by that Name, diſtinguiſh'd by that Name, and was the ſame which was read in both Houſes of the Convention, upon which that Aſſembly immediately voted in the King. If the Reader can here find any Thing to ſupport Dr. **Burnet**'s Aſſertion, "That the King, in his Declaration "from *Breda*, promis'd to confirm the Set-"tlement in *Ireland*", I will never believe my own Eyes any more. If the Biſhop and his Friend mean any other Declaration, when they call it by the Name of *Breda*, they are both very much miſtaken.

Britannicus is all of a Piece; in his preceding Remark he thought to impoſe on our Senſes, and now he would do the ſame on our Underſtanding; his next Subterfuge in behalf of his Friend is ſo ſurprizingly weak and childiſh, that I am almoſt aſham'd to anſwer it. In order to make Dr. **Burnet** conſiſtent with himſelf, when in his Preface to Biſhop *Bedel*'s Life he extols the *Scotch* Biſhops at that Time to the Skies, and afterwards, in his laſt Hiſtory, ſo groſly abuſes the very ſame Men, though he ſpeaks all along in the Plural Number, calls them "an Angelical Rank of Men", and that he "ſaw ſuch Things in them", ſtill again in the Plural Number, though the

Word Rank in the Senſe that it is uſed, without any other addition of Plurality, is always a *nomen multitudinis*, this Writer would have you believe that he meant only Biſhop *Leighton*: If this is allow'd, there is no ſuch Thing as Grammar.

We are now come to his laſt Objection againſt us, in which, if poſſible, he is more extravagant than before. We have charg'd Dr. **Burnet** with aſſerting a Falſhood in regard to the Religion of *Hubert*, who was hang'd for firing of *London*; this Man the Doctor affirms to have been a Papiſt, notwithſtanding it was notoriouſly known to all his Countrymen here, as well as the whole Town of *Rouen* in *Normandy*, that he was born and bred a Proteſtant, liv'd a Proteſtant, own'd himſelf a Proteſtant in his Examination, as well as at his Execution, if a Man who was downright diſtracted may be ſaid to be of one Religion more than another. In contradiction to this, **Britannicus**, to bring off Dr. **Burnet**, quotes the State Tracts in theſe Words, "It is obſerva-
" ble that this miſerable Creature, who
" confeſſed himſelf to the Committee to be
" a Proteſtant, was a Papiſt, *&c*". Such, he ſays, was the Report of the Committee to the Houſe. **Britannicus** has been pleaſed to ask a Queſtion upon this Occaſion, "How
" thoſe *Frenchmen* could prove his dying a
" Pro-

" Proteſtant"? I anſwer, becauſe the Man own'd himſelf to be ſo at his Death; no body can prove the Religion of another by any other Evidence. In return I muſt ask this Gentleman the ſame Queſtion, How that Committee knew him to be a Papiſt, when he own'd himſelf to be a Proteſtant? Was there any Evidence produced that ever he had been ſeen at Maſs, or that the Man had ever own'd himſelf of the Romiſh Religion? Without ſome ſuch Information, they muſt have had the Gift and Faculty of entring into the ſecret Thoughts of Man. But let their Omnipotence be equal to their Omniſcience, they could not make the ſame Perſon be in two Places at the ſame Time; for by the Oath of *Lawrence Peterſon*, the Maſter of the Veſſel who brought *Hubert* to *England* at this Time, he was ſtill on board, and did not ſet his Foot on *Engliſh* Ground till two Days after the Fire began, and conſequently could not be the firſt Incendiary in *Pudding Lane*, notwithſtanding he was ſo very mad as to own it: This Atteſtation of the Maſter being allow'd, which we have no Reaſon to queſtion, the poor diſtracted *Frenchman* muſt have been innocent; and then the Religion of the Man will be of no Conſequence, but to ſhew the Malice of Dr. **Burnet** and his Champion.

UPON this Story of the Fire he continues to juſtify the Biſhop in his Account of *Grant*'s ſtopping the Cocks at *Iſlington*; and though I have prov'd, that it could not be done without an Order of the Board, of which Minutes are always taken, as alſo, that *Grant* was not at that Time a Member of the Company, however, he inſiſts upon the Probability of the Thing by this trifling Inſinuation, that he was to be one ſoon, and as he was a Projector, might make Improvements in their Works, and ſo gain Admittance: All this is leſs probable, if what I have been told by ſome old Men is true, that at the Time of the great Fire, that lower Part of the Town near the River was not ſupply'd with Water from *Iſlington*, but from the Neighbouring Mill on the Bridge, which being accidentally out of Order at that Time, occaſion'd the want of Water; but whether that was ſo or no is not worth while to diſpute: The Story itſelf is ſo very ſilly, that as nothing but Ignorance, as well as Malice, could invent it; ſo any Man muſt have an equal ſhare of Weakneſs to believe it; for ſuppoſing *Grant*, who had the Reputation of an honeſt Man, could have been ſo wicked, as well as ſilly, to form ſo abſurd a Project; can any Man conceive, that in ſuch an Exigence and Calamity, when the Capital City was all

in

in Flames, that they would have made the leaſt Scruple, to have broke open any Door, Main, Lock or Sluice, which might have been done in ſix Minutes as well as in ſix hundred?

As to the ill breeding with which he taxes me, in calling the Counteſs of *Clarendon* an old Woman; all that I ſhall anſwer is, that what would not be polite at a Tea-Table, may be allow'd to the Gravity as well as the Neceſſity of telling Truth in Hiſtory. But when he ſays, that I took her for her Husband's Mother; I muſt tell him, that the Miſtake lies at his Door, I had no ſuch Thought, having the Honour to know that Family much better than **Britannicus**: My Lord *Clarendon*'s Mother, who was Daughter to Sir *Thomas Aylesbury*, muſt have been old enough to have been probably dead at the Time of the Fire: The Lady, that I meant, was my Lord *Clarendon*'s ſecond Wife; ſhe had been twice a Widow, firſt *Biſhop*, and then *Backhouſe*, before ſhe marry'd my Lord *Clarendon*, to whom ſhe was too Old to bring any Children; and by ſome Accounts in Dr. **Burnet**, his Converſation with that Lady was after the Revolution, at which Time ſhe could not be a young Woman: But if I have committed any Indecorum on this Occaſion,

caſion, my Crime will be a little extenuated by this Conſideration, that the Lady was dead, when I put her under that terrible Denomination of an old Woman, and conſequently ſuch a Scandal could not ſpoil her fourth Marriage. He charges the ſame ill breeding on me in Relation to the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, for no other Reaſon, that I can imagine, but my calling him good old Prophet. When a Man once arrives to that warmth of Imagination as to dabble in the *Revelations*, and from thence predict the Downfal of the Pope, under the Notion of Antichriſt, and Whore of *Babylon*; as this ſort of Light moſt commonly enters in at ſome crack in the Scull, the Title of Prophet given to ſuch a Perſon will not be thought the ſevereſt Appellation: In all other Reſpects, that Reverend Prelate is oblig'd to my Charity, in aſcribing to his Weakneſs and Credulity, what a ſeverer Writer, who had known the Man, would have imputed to his Inſincerity and Malice. I have at leaſt this to ſay in my Juſtification, that the Perſons whom he charges me with perſonally ill treating, though I have kept within the bounds of Decency and good Language, were three popular Divines, who in the Reign of CHARLES the ſecond kept warm the Sedition, and at a certain juncture did more Miſchief than

any

any number of Men whatſoever, not only by their own fruitful Inventions, but in ſupporting, by their Credit with the People, ſome of the greateſt Extravagancies in that epidemical Deluſion, which has done no great Honour to the *Engliſh* Nation.

THUS we have gone over the Obſervations of this Critick, who has certainly one Advantage in not being known: A Man without a Name is no body; he may ſay what he pleaſes, without any ill Conſequence to himſelf; whatever he aſſerts, though never ſo falſe, when detected, cannot hurt his perſonal Reputation: But it is no generous way of Fighting; he wounds in the Dark, and ought to be liable to the Statute of Stabbing; at leaſt the late Act againſt *Blacks* makes him more criminal, in hiding his Face when he goes about to do Miſchief. When next, according to the Cuſtom of the Journaliſts, **Britannicus** writes a Letter to himſelf, if he will be ſo generous as to pull off his Mask, and ſet his Name, we ſhall be able to judge, whether or no he has exceeded the Sphere of his own Function, in thus meddling with Politicks, as well as his Friend Dr. **Burnet**. Some, who pretend to know this mighty Author, have affirm'd, that he was a kind of Pupil to that noble Prelate, and lay

lay at the Feet of that great *Gamaliel:* If ſo, with the Felicity of the famous *Raphael del Urbin,* the Scholar has infinitely tranſcended his Maſter.

ERRATA.

P. 85. l. 1. for *is* r. *are.* p. 92. l. 9 for *Carty* r. *Party.* p. 209 l. 20. after the Word *perjuries* dele "the marginal Marks. p. 218. l. 12. for *Natue* r. *Nature.* p. 233. l. 17. for *diametically* r. *diametrically.* p 254 l. 15. for *diſcent* r. *diſſent.* p. 262. l. 14. for *flown* r. *had flown.* p. 264. l. 7. after the Word *indulg'd* dele *in.* p. 278. l. 21. for *induced* r. *indued.* p. 280. 12. for *hoſtia* r. *Hoſte.* p. 289. l. 22. after the Word *beſides,* put a *Comma.* p. 293. l. 17. for *own'd* r. *ow'd.* p. 305. l. 9. after the Word *brought* r. *about.* p. 306. l. 26. after the Word *beſide* dele the *Comma.* p. ibid l. 29. for *makes* r. *make.* p. 307, l. 3. after the Word *Lying,* dele the *Comma.* p. 314. l. 14. for *Proofs* r. *Proof.*

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